RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN WALLACE

Stravinsky and Craft *Robert Evett*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — January 10, 1970, 50 cents

The Black Panther Killings

Christopher Chandler

Law and Order in The Seventies

Herbert L. Packer

NR BLD7 C009 I 1070
BALDWN WLCE COLL
RITTER LIB PRD
BEREA OHIO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARBORO
SLASHES PRICES ON
RECORDS

Orig. $5.98 now $2.49

Orig. $19.92 (4-record set) now $3.96

BUILD A WHOLE RECORD LIBRARY AT ONLY $1.00 AND UP

R2690. GREAT MOMENTS IN RADIO narrated by JACK BENNY: Vol. 2. Lum 'n' Abner, Terry & the Pirates, Gangbusters, Dempsey-Tunny Fight, Babe Ruth's Final Message, Edward VIII Abdication, Hitler declares war on Poland, FDR's "Day of Infamy" declaration of war, Ike announces "D Day," more. Rechanneled for **Stereo.** Only **3.98**

R2689. GREAT MOMENTS IN RADIO narrated by JACK BENNY: Vol. 1. Famed introductions to Lorenzo Jones, Romance of Helen Trent, Just Plain Bill, Mary Noble, "Ma" Perkins (last bdcast), Commercials for Lava, Rinso, more, Fred Allen in "Allen's Alley," Lone Ranger, The Shadow, Von Hindenburg crashes in flames, more. Rechanneled for **Stereo.** Only **3.98**

R2691. Two Discs Complete: ORSON WELLES' "WAR OF THE WORLDS" BROADCAST. Actual broadcast by Orson Welles & The Mercury Theatre on the Air as heard over CBS, Oct. 30, 1938, of the famed H. G. Wells story of invasion by Mars, which caused mass hysteria throughout the nation; Manheim Fox Enterprises Release. Rechanneled for **Stereo.** 2 Discs, Only **4.98**

R1844. MEDIEVAL & RENAISSANCE MUSIC—For Irish & Medieval Harps, Viele, Recorders & Tambourin. Performed by Elena Polonska (harps & tambourin), Guy Durand (viele & 2nd recorder), Roger Cotte (1st recorder). **Stereo.** Only **1.79**

R1812. THE MAGIC WORLD OF CHILDREN'S FAVORITES: 5 Record Set. Over 3 hours of entertainment—55 songs and stories: Do-Re-Mi, Mexican Hat Dance, Blue Tail Fly, Polly Wolly Doodle, Little Engine That Could, Casey Jones, Wyatt Earp, more. **Stereo.** Orig. $23.95. 5 Discs, Only **4.98**

R1779. ANDRES SEGOVIA plays J. S. BACH. Segovia's own guitar arrangements of Bach's Cello Suite #6, Lute Suite in E, Prelude #3, Lute Sonata #1, Chaconne, & Violin Partitas #2-3. **Mono.** Special **1.89**

R408. J. S. Bach: THE SIX BRANDENBURG CONCERTOS. Performed in their original instrumentation: violino piccolo, viola da gamba, recorders & flute, clarin trumpet, natural horns, Baroque oboes & bassoons, harpsichord—by the renowned Collegium Aureum. **Stereo.** 2 Discs, Only **4.98**

R530. Douglas Moore's CARRY NATION. Premiere Recording of the delightful opera-life of America's incomparable hatchet-toting saloon buster; soloists Beverly Wolff, Ellen Faull, Julian Patrick, Arnold Voketaitis; NYC Opera Orch & Cho, Samuel Krachmalnick cond. Libretto incl; **Stereo.** Pub. at $17.95. 3 Discs, Only **8.95**

R290. Three Discs: EDITH PIAF Deluxe Set. More than 30 of Edith Piaf's immortal classics: No Regrets, La Vie En Rose, Exodus, 29 more; sung in French, Capitol, rechanneled for **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Special **9.38**

R2683. THE ARAB WORLD: Its Music & People. Mid-East tour with authentic Arab music, many recorded on location, played on the Oud, Kanoun, Kemengeh, Rehab, Nay, Arghoul & Darabukkah. **Mono.** Pub. at $4.98. Only **1.98**

R2688. Ten Discs: THE WORLD'S GREAT MASTERS—Their Story in Words & Music. For every member of the family, a superb general introduction in text, spoken word, and **OVER 7½ HOURS OF GREAT MUSIC** to the life and works of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, Haydn, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Schubert & Tchaikovsky; incl. biographies, over 100 musical compositions, definitions and musical examples of musical styles, types & terms, much more. **Mono.** Orig. $49.80. 10 Discs, Special **14.95**

R2663. GREEK FOLK DANCES. The fabulous Mitsakis & Samiou Ensembles in: Tsamico, Servico, Dance From Epirus, Fisouni, Tsifteteli, 9 more authentic vocal & instrumental numbers. **Mono.** Pub. at $4.98. Only **1.98**

R2686. ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND. Read and sung by the inimitable Cyril Ritchard, with original music score by Alec Wilder, performed by the NY Woodwind Quartet; the Lewis Carroll classic on 4 LP's with facsimile of the rare 1865 first edition illustrated by John Tenniel. Gift boxed. **Mono.** only. 4 Discs, Special **6.95**

R2687. THROUGH THE LOOKING-GLASS. Uniform with the above. **Mono** only. 4 Discs, Special **6.95**

R2642. GREAT VIOLIN CONCERTI. 10 Works: the Tchaikovsky, Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Brahms, & Paganini #1 Ctos, Mozart #3 "Turkish," Bach Double Cto, Lalo Symphonie Espagnole, Beethoven Two Romances Op. 40 & 50; Gitlis, Lautenbacher, Rosand & Pauk, violinists; Vienna Pro Musica, Warsaw Philharmonic, other Orch's, Swarowsky, Hollreiser, et al cond. **Stereo.** 5 Discs, Special **7.88**

R2550. Delibes: SYLVIA (Complete). Only complete performance of this classic ballet; London Symphony Orch, Anatol Fistoulari cond. **Stereo.** 2 Discs, Only **3.96**

SERGEI PROKOFIEV—COMPLETE PIANO MUSIC

R2463. VOL. 1. Deft performances of the Sonatas 1-5; Etudes Op. 2; 4 Pieces Op. 3; 4 Pieces Op. 4; Toccata Op. 11; 10 Episodes Op. 12; 5 Sarcasms Op. 17; 20 Visions Fugitives Op. 22; Tales Of An Old Grandmother Op. 31; Gyorgy Sandor, pianist. **Stereo.** Pub. at $9.95. 3 Discs, Only **5.88**

R2464. VOL. 2. The brilliant Sonatas 6-9; Sonatines 1 & 2, Op. 54; Chose En Soi, Op. 45; 3 Pieces Op. 59; Music For Children Op. 65; Pensees Op. 62; Gyorgy Sandor, pianist. **Stereo.** Pub. at $9.95. 3 Discs, Only **5.88**

R1710. VIVA BRASS!—5 Record Set. Over 3 hours entertainment and 50 selections of the NEW brass sounds from Tijuana, Guantanamera, Brasila & Espana: Taste of Honey, Zorba the Greek, Guantanamera, Manolette, Mi Merenque, more. **Stereo.** Orig. $23.95. 5 Discs, Only **4.98**

R1708. ROMANTIC MOODS OF LOVE: 5 Record Set. Over 3 hours of entertainment; 49 songs: Last Time I Saw Paris, Blue Tango, Caravan, Never On Sunday, All The Things You Are, So In Love, I Love Paris, Warsaw Concerto, Old Black Magic, many more. **Stereo.** Orig. $23.95. 5 Record Set, Only **4.98**

R1642. Mozart: THE COMPLETE STRING QUINTETS. The Pascal String Quartet with Walter Gerhard, 2nd Viola, in Mozart's 6 String Quintets, K.515, 516, 406, 174, 593 & 614. **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **5.94**

R641. New Release: Strauss' DER ROSENKAVALIER. Top-rank performance with Regine Crespin, Yvonne Minton, Helen Donath, Manfred Jungwirth; Vienna Philharmonic, Georg Solti cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $23.95. 4 Discs, Only **18.98**

R1351. THE GREAT JAZZ OF ALL TIME. Ray Charles, T & J Dorsey, Teagarden, Shavers, scores of others. 10 LPs. **Stereo.** Orig. $47.90. Only **9.95**

R597. Premiere: BEVERLY SILLS in Donizetti's ROBERTO DEVEREUX. Bel Canto masterpiece: Sills as Queen Elizabeth I, Peter Glossop as Duke of Nottingham, Beverly Wolff as Sara Duchess of Nottingham, Robert Ilosfalvy as Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; Ambrosian Opera Cho, Royal Philharmonic, Charles Mackerras cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $17.95. 3 Discs, Only **13.88**

R591. Wagner: DIE WALKURE. Complete classic performance with the soaring voices of Martha Modl, Leonie Rysanek, Frick, Windgassen, Edelmann; Vienna Philharmonic, Furtwangler cond. Only in **Mono.** 5 Discs, Only **9.88**

R580. Verdi: MACBETH. Long a collector's item, the superb Macbeth of Carlo Bergonzi, Leonie Rysanek, Leonard Warren and Jerome Hines; Metropolitan Opera Orch & Cho, Leinsdorf cond. **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **7.47**

R594. Gieseking/Mozart: COMPLETE SOLO PIANO MUSIC. Walter Gieseking's monumental cycle of the 17 piano sonatas plus all the Fantasias, Variations & smaller works—pianism and Mozart at their very best! Only in **Mono.** 11 Discs, Only **21.75**

R579. All Star Cast: VERDI'S AIDA. Standing ovation performance with Milanov, Bjoerling, Barbieri, Warren & Christoff; Rome Opera Orch & Cho, Jonel Perlea cond. Released in **Mono** only. 3 Discs, Only **7.47**

R578. Edison & Grand Prix Awards: GUIDE TO RENAISSANCE MUSIC. 72 vocal & instrumental pieces (13-17th centuries) from organum to baroque dances played on authentic ancient medieval instrument prototypes, and sung in Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, German & Dutch; Syntagma Musicum of Amsterdam. **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **5.94**

R311. Callas in LUCIA DI LAMMERMOOR. Maria Callas at the peak of her vocal career plus Giuseppe Di Stefano and Tito Gobbi; Florence May Festival Orch, Tullio Serafin cond. Only in **Mono.** 2 Discs, Special **3.96**

R165. Bruckner: SYMPHONY NO. 8. The magnificent Bruckner 8th, awe inspiring in its breadth of melodic line and sonority; Munich Philharmonic under the baton of Bruckner expert Hans Knappertsbusch. **Stereo.** 2 Record Set, Only **3.96**

R154. Casals/Serkin: BEETHOVEN'S COMPLETE MUSIC FOR CELLO & PIANO. The 5 Cello & Piano Sonatas with the 3 sets of Variations on themes by Handel & Mozart performed by the incomparable duo Pablo Casals and Rudolf Serkin. Rechanneled for **Stereo.** 3 Disc Set, Only **7.47**

R2640. GREAT PIANO CONCERTI. 13 works: Schumann Cto & Traumerei, Beethoven "Emperor" & Fur Elise, Grieg Cto, Rachmaninoff #2, Tchaikovsky #1, Liszt #1 & Liebestraum #3, Chopin #2 & Tristesse Etude, Brahms #2, more; Novaes, Sandor, Brendel, other pianists; Vienna Pro Musica & Volksoper, Bamberg, other Orch's, Perlea, Swarowsky, et al cond. **Stereo.** 5 Discs, Special **7.88**

R2639. Five Discs: HANDEL ORGAN CONCERTOS (COMPLETE). The 16 Ctos for Organ & Orchestra, the first ever written with the organ as solo instrument with orchestra; superb performances by organists Walter Kraft & Eva Holderlin, Helma Elsner, hpchd, Stuttgart Pro Musica, Reinhardt cond. **Stereo.** 5 Discs, Special **7.88**

R2638. Five Discs: IMMORTAL MUSIC OF JOHANN STRAUSS. 38 Waltzes, Polkas & Overtures performed by Eduard Strauss & his Sym Orch: Emperor, Blue Danube, Voices of Spring Vienna Blood, Morning Leaves, Acceleration, many more. **Stereo.** 5 Discs, Special **7.88**

R2633. MANITAS DE PLATA—FLAMING FLAMENCO. The furious virtuoso guitar of Manitas de Plata in Tierra Andaluza, Sol de mi Terra, Espana mia, 4 more. Rechanneled for **Stereo.** Pub. at $4.98. Only **1.98**

R2630. Handel's MESSIAH (COMPLETE). Parts 1, 2 & 3 complete with Soloists and the London Philharmonic Orchestra, Frederick Jackson cond. **Stereo.** 4 Discs, Only **5.88**

R2490. HAIR—The Tribal Love Rock Musical. Music and songs from Hair: Aquarius, Let The Sunshine In, I Got Life, Where Do I Go? 5 more. **Stereo.** Only **1.79**

R2445. Prokofiev: SEMYON KOTKO. Only available recording, the complete work with soloists Gryes, Gelovani, Troyitski, others, USSR State Radio Orch, Zhukov cond; an MK import. **Mono.** Pub. at $19.92. 4 Discs, Special Import **3.96**

R2438. VAN CLIBURN conducts Vaughan Williams: SERENADE TO MUSIC. Vaughan Williams' celebrated Serenade with Soloists, Interlochen Festival Cho & Orch, Van Cliburn cond; ALSO Deems Taylor's THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS. **Stereo.** Pub. at $5.98. Only **2.49**

R2435. John Gielgud & Irene Worth: A PROGRAM OF EDITH SITWELL POEMS. 16 poems by Dame Edith Sitwell read by Sir John Gielgud & Irene Worth; incl. 8 poems from "Facade," Colonel Fantock, The Queen Bee Sighed, Still Falls The Rain, more. **Mono.** Pub. at $5.98. Only **2.49**

R2474. DINING-IN-MUSIC: 3 Record Set. Created for quiet listening, selected to enchant but not intrude—lush strings and full orchestra in 31 SONGS: As Time Goes By, Because You're Mine, Laura, That's Old Feeling, Always, many more. **Stereo.** A $14.37 Value. 3 Discs, Only **3.88**

R922. Mozart: ABDUCTION FROM THE SERAGLIO. Rothenberger, Popp, Gedda, Unger, Frick; Vienna Philharmonic, Josef Krips cond; "The best of all recordings of Mozart's charming Singspiel," Opera News. **Stereo.** 2 Discs, Only **3.96**

R1973. MUSIC FOR FLUTE, GUITAR & MANDOLIN. 22 works: Paganini's Romanze for Guitar, Sor's Russian Memories for 2 Guitars, Beethoven's Guitar Quintet & 4 Pieces for Mandolin and Hpchd, Vivaldi's Cto for 2 Mandolins and Strings & Cto for Lute & Strings; Soloists, Vienna Pro Musica & Vienna Mandolin & Guitar Ensemble. **Stereo.** 5 Record Set, Only **9.88**

R804. Bach: 6 BRANDENBURG CONCERTOS (Complete). Schneidewind, Rampal, Pierlot, Hendel, Veyron-Lacroix, et al; Saar Chamber Orch, Ristenpart cond. "Excellent rhythms, textures, and balances . . . exceptional taste and stylistic assurance of ornamentation . . . fine soloists," High Fidelity. **Stereo.** 2 Record Set Complete, Only **4.98**

R399. Tchaikovsky: EUGEN ONEGIN—1st Stereo Recording. The ravishing melodies of Tchaikovsky in a superb, authentic performance by Popovich, Heybalova, Cvejic, Startz; Belgrade Opera, Danon cond. **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **5.94**

R180. Beethoven: COMPLETE STRING QUARTETS. The 16 quartets complete with Grosse Fugue and standard endings of Op. 130; full program notes; superb performance with The Fine Arts Quartet. **Stereo.** 9 Discs, Special **10.95**

R577. Bach: CHRISTMAS ORATORIO. Superb complete performance with Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Agnes Giebel, Hoffgen, Traxel; Leipzig Thomanerchor & Gewandhaus Orch, Kurt Thomas cond. **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **5.94**

R569. The Callas CARMEN. "The most exciting Carmen ever on records," Stereo Review: Callas, Gedda, Massard, Guiot; Paris Opera Orch & Cho, Pretre cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $17.95. 3 Discs, Only **12.98**

R575. Massenet: MANON. The beautiful Lady of the Camellias of Victoria de los Angeles, with Legay & Dens; Paris Opera-Comique Orch & Cho, Pierre Monteux cond. **Mono.** 4 Discs, Only **7.92**

R561. Berlioz: ROMEO AND JULIET. Berlioz' superbly moving setting of Shakespeare's masterpiece; soloists Resnik, Turp & Ward, London Symphony Orch & Cho, Monteux cond. **Stereo.** 2 Discs, Only **4.98**

R576. Handel: MESSIAH. Soloists Elsie Morison, Marjorie Thomas, Richard Lewis, James Milligan; Royal Liverpool Philharmonic & Huddersfield Choral Society, Sir Malcolm Sargent cond. **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **5.94**

R552. Mozart: EINE KLEINE NACHTMUSIK/SYMPHONY NO. 40. Two of Mozart's most popular, memorable and beautiful works. Vienna State Opera Orch, Sir Adrian Boult cond. **Stereo.** Only **2.49**

R563. Bach: ST. MATTHEW PASSION. With Agnes Giebel, Renate Gunther, Helmut Krebs, Franz Kelch & Hermann Wedermann, Heinrich Schutz Chorale of Heilbronn & Pforzheim Chamber Orch, Fritz Werner cond; text incl. **Stereo.** 4 Discs, Only **9.96**

R562. Bach: ST. JOHN PASSION. Moving performance with Phyllis Curtin, Eunice Alberts, Waldemar Kmentt, Frederick Guthrie, Vienna State Opera Cho & Orch, Scherchen cond. **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **7.47**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

R2335. Johann Strauss: THE GYPSY BARON (Der Zigeunerbaron). Brilliant, inspired, ever-popular operetta combining rigorous Hungarian Gypsy music with Viennese waltz melodies; Eberhard Wachter, Rudolf Schock, Erzebeth Hazy, others; Berlin Opera Cho & Orch, Robt Stolz cond. Stereo. 2 Discs, Only **3.88**

R2608. BACH: COMPLETE MUSIC FOR SOLO HARPSICHORD, VOLS. I & II. ALL of Bach's music for solo harpsichord, with complete program notes; Martin Galing, harpsichord. **Stereo.** Pub. at $59.70. 18 Discs, Only **19.95**

R2303. Holst: CHORAL FANTASIA & PSALM 86/Finzi: DIES NATALIS. Three very fine contemporary English vocal works; soloists Janet Baker, Wilfred Brown; Ralph Downs, organ; The English Chamber Orch, I. Holst & C. Finzi cond. **Stereo.** Only **1.98**

R2604. MOZART: THE COMPLETE PIANO SONATAS. The inimitable piano artistry of prize-winning pianist Walter Klein *playing Mozart's 16 Piano Sonatas plus* the Rondo K.494 and Fantasy K.475. **Stereo.** Pub. at $19.90. 6 Discs, Only **10.88**

R2300. WOODY GUTHRIE. America's most beloved balladeer *in 12 songs: Pretty Boy Floyd, John Henry,* Hard Ain't It Hard, Hey Lolly Lolly, More Pretty Girls Than One, more. Rechanneled for **Stereo.** Only **1.98**

R2603. BACH: THE COMPLETE ORGAN WORKS. All of Bach's works for organ: Toccatas, Passacaglias, Fugues, Concerti, Partitas, Chorales, Organ Mass, Little Organ Book, more; comp. program notes; Walter Kraft, organist on organs of Bach's time. **Stereo.** Pub. at $59.70. 18 Discs, Only **19.95**

R2299. CARLOS MONTOYA. Montoya's incredibly brilliant, ever original flamenco guitar: Farruca, Variaciones Por Rosa, Chufla, Soleares, Malaguena, Granadinas, more. Rechanneled for **Stereo.** Only **1.98**

R531. Louis Moreau Gottschalk: FORTY WORKS FOR PIANO (CENTENNIAL ALBUM). *Landmark Recording!* Most pieces previously unrecorded; incl. Grand Scherzo, Jota Aragonesa, Impromptu, Ossian (2 Ballades), Marche De Nuit, Chant Du Soldat, 35 more; Alan Mandel, pianist. **Stereo.** Pub. at $23.25. 4 Discs, Only **12.95**

R2428. THE AMAZING NINA SIMONE. The very special jazz of singer-pianist-arranger Nina Simone: Children Go Where I Send You, Stompin' At The Savoy, Willow Weep For Me, Solitaire, 8 more. **Mono.** Pub. at $4.98. Special **1.98**

R1853. Mozart: THE COMPLETE WIND CONCERTI. 10 works: Clarinet Concerto, Bassoon Concerto, The 4 French Horn Concerti; 2 Flute Concerti, Flute and Harp Concerto K.299; *and Sinfonia Concertante K.297b;* Westphalia, Wurttemberg Chamber & Vienna Volksoper Orchestras; Reichert, Faerber & Bauer-Theussl cond. **Stereo.** 4 Record Set Complete, Only **6.98**

R848. Krips' COMPLETE BEETHOVEN SYMPHONIES. Now, arranged in sequence for automatic record changers, the famous London Festival definitive performances; comp. notes *& Pictorial History* of Beethoven's life. Orig. in different format at $40.00. **Stereo.** 7 Discs, Only **9.95**

R631. Munch conducts BEETHOVEN OVERTURES. Moving performances of the Leonore Overtures 1, 2 & 3, Fidelio Overture, Coriolan Overture, & Creatures of Prometheus Overture; Boston Symphony, Charles Munch cond. **Stereo.** Only **2.49**

R630. LILY PONS CONCERT. The Met's famed coloratura in 12 arias from: Lucia (Mad Scene), Lakme (Bell Song), Rigoletto (Caro nome & Tutte la feste al tempio), Seraglio, Dinorah, Mignon, Coq d'Or, others by Handel, Pergolesi & Gretry. Only in **Mono.** Only **2.49**

R587. Stereo Premiere: MASSENET'S WERTHER. Gorgeous Massenet masterpiece with the glorious voices of Victoria de los Angeles, Nicolai Gedda, Mesple, Soyer & Benoit; French Radio Children's Cho & Orchestre de Paris, Pretre cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $17.95. 3 Discs, Only **13.88**

R566. Mozart: DON GIOVANNI. Incomparable, truly incomparable performance with Schwarzkopf, Sutherland, Wachter, Frick Taddei; Philharmonia Orch & Cho, Giulini cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $23.95. 4 Discs, Only **17.39**

R388. Callas in Bellini's NORMA. Maria Callas' first Norma recording, a stupendous vocal tour de force by a marvelous singing-actress; with Ebe Stignani, Mario Filippeschi & Nicola Rossi-Lemeni; La Scala Cho & Orch. Tullio Serafin cond. Only in **Mono.** 3 Discs, Only **5.94**

R559. Vivaldi: SONATAS FOR CELLO & HARPSICHORD (COMPLETE). 6 Sonatas, some of the world's most exquisite chamber music in superb performance by Paul Tortelier, cello, & Robt Veyron-Lacroix, hpchd. **Stereo.** Only **2.49**

R548. Liszt: HUNGARIAN RHAPSODIES NOS. 1, 4, 5/BATTLE OF THE HUNS. 3 *popular rhapsodies for orchestra* plus the famous symphonic poem; Vienna State Opera Orch, Scherchen cond. **Stereo.** Only **2.49**

R549. Liszt. HUNGARIAN RHAPSODIES NOS. 2, 3, 6/MAZEPPA. Liszt's dramatically orchestrated rhapsodies plus *the famed symphonic poem;* Vienna State Opera Orch, Scherchen cond. **Stereo.** Only **2.49**

***R560. Mahler:* SYMPHONY NO. 2 "RESURRECTION."** Mahler's "resurrection of the human spirit" symphony: Coertse & West, soloists, Vienna State Opera Orch & Cho, Scherchen cond. **Stereo.** 2 Discs, Only **4.98**

R527. Budapest String Quartet: COMPLETE BEETHOVEN STRING QUARTETS, VOL. 1. The Six Quartets, Opus 18 in a touchstone performance by The Budapest String Quartet; "Virtually every note is impeccable"—Time. Released in **Mono** only. 3 Discs, Only **7.47**

R555. Bach: SUITES FOR ORCHESTRA 1 & 2. *Magnificent* orchestral works, suites of galanteries, courantes, gavottes, forlanes, minuets, bourees, sarabandes, polonaises, in the French style; Vienna State Opera Orch, Scherchen cond. **Stereo.** Only **2.49**

R556. Bach: SUITES FOR ORCHESTRA 3 & 4. Bach's superb French Ouvertures, dance suites par excellence; Vienna State Opera Orch, Scherchen cond. **Stereo.** Only **2.49**

R2425. Orig. Soundtrack: BORN FREE. The beautiful music from Carl Foreman's famous "Born Free" film starring Virginia McKenna & Bill Travers, with Born Free vocal sung by Matt Monro; **Mono.** Pub. at $4.79. Special **1.98**

R2424. ERROLL GARNER—DREAMSTREET. Erroll Garner, with bass & percussion: Just One Of Those Things, Come Rain Or Come Shine, Lady Is A Tramp, title song, When You're Smiling, 5 more. **Mono.** Pub. at $4.79. Special **1.98**

R2336. TREASURY OF GREGORIAN CHANTS: 4 Disc Set. 61 Gregorian Chants appropriate to various Feasts and Services of the year sung by Trappist Monks' Choir of Cistercian Abbey, Benedictine Monks of En Calcat, Benedictine Nuns' Choir, & Benedictine Monks of St. Wandrille de Fontenelle Monastery. Rechanneled for **Stereo.** Pub. at $19.92. Special **7.88**

R2225. THE WORLD'S GREATEST MUSIC, Vol 3: 10 Disc Set. 19 complete works with the eminent artist Oistrakh, Richter, Gilels, Kempe, Ancerl, Barshai, more; incl. Smetana's The Moldau, Sarka; Mendelssohn's Scotch Sym; Tchaikovsky's *4th Sym, Bach's Piano Cto #1, Violin Cto #1;* Beethoven's 5th Sym, Piano Cto #1; much more. **Mono.** Made to sell at $49.50. 10 Discs, Special Package **5.95**

R2175. Mahler: SYMPHONY NO. 5. Mahler's monumental 5th symphony, opulently romantic, thematically prodigal, dramatically moving; superb performance by The London Symphony, Rudolf Schwarz cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $9.96. 2-Disc Set, Special **3.88**

R590. Dietrich—THE MAGIC OF MARLENE. Wonderful evening with the incredible Dietrich—34 SONGS incl. the famed I'm Naughty Little Lola, Falling In Love Again, Lili Marlene, Little Drummer Boy, When The Soldiers, In the *Barracks, Lieber Leierkastenmann, Unter'n Linden, more.* **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **12.98**

R588. THE CHOPIN NOCTURNES. The complete Nocturnes, among the most genuinely moving of all Chopin's works—incredibly brilliant performance by Alexis Weissenberg. **Stereo.** Pub. at $11.95. 2 Discs, Only **9.56**

R564. Richard Strauss' DER ROSENKAVALIER. Ne plus ultra *performance with Schwarzkopf, Ludwig, Edelmann;* The Philharmonia Orch & Cho, Herbert von Karajan cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $23.95. 4 Discs, Only **17.39**

R526. Three Discs: WALTER GIESEKING PLAYS DEBUSSY. The legendary pianist's monumental Debussy series: Preludes, Books I & II, Children's Corner Suite & Suite Bergamasque—classic performances long considered the ne plus ultra of Debussy interpretation. Released in **Mono** only. 3 Discs, Only **7.47**

R513. SIX LEGENDARY PIANISTS. Walter Gieseking (Mozart Fantasy K.475 & Sonata #14), Edwin Fischer (Bach *Chromatic Fantasia & Fugue,* BWV903. *Prelude & Fugue,* BWV850, 2 works by Handel), Dame Myra Hess (Beethoven Sonata #30), Artur Schnabel (Schubert Moments Musicaux), Solomon (Schumann Carnaval), Alfred Cortot (Chopin Piano Sonata #2 "Funeral March"). **Mono.** 3 Discs, Only **5.94**

R522. Albanese/Bjoerling: PUCCINI'S MANON LESCAUT. Glorious legendary performance, long a highly sought collector's item, with Licia Albanese, Jussi Bjoerling & Robert Merrill, each at the top of their *form; Rome Opera Orch,* Perlea cond. Only in **Mono.** 3 Discs, Only **4.98**

R512. SIX CHAMBER MUSIC MASTERPIECES. *Mozart Piano* Quartet K478 (Schnabel, Pro Arte Quartet), Beethoven Violin Sonata #9 "Kreutzer" (Kreisler & Franz Rupp), Mendelssohn Piano Trio, Op. 49 #1 (Thibaud, Casals, Cortot), Brahms Horn Trio, Op. 40 (Aubrey Brain, Busch, Serkin), Faure Piano Quartet #2 (Thibaud, Vieux, Fournier, Long). Debussy Cello Sonata in D Minor (Marechal & Robt Casadesus). **Mono.** 3 Discs, Only **5.94**

R323. COLLECTED PIANO MUSIC OF CHOPIN. 169 *complete selections, all the Waltzes, Preludes, Nocturnes,* Etudes, Polonaises, Mazurkas, Scherzi, Ballades & Impromptus; performed by Guiomar Novaes, Walter Klien, Peter Frankl, others; gift boxed. **Stereo.** Orig. $57.48. 12 Record Set, Only **14.95**

R235. Strauss: ALSO SPRACH ZARATHUSTRA. The complete Nietzsche-based symphonic poem—includes theme music featured in 2001 *A SPACE ODYSSEY;* Vienna Philharmonic Herbert von Karajan cond. **Stereo.** Only **1.98**

R181. Beethoven: THE COMPLETE PIANO MUSIC. *All 5* Piano Ctos, all 32 Piano Sonatas, all Rondos, Variations, etc; every piano work of Beethoven masterfully performed by Alfred Brendel; Orch's cond. by Zubin, Mehta, et al; comp. program notes plus piano music analysis by Romain Roland. **Stereo.** 21 Discs, Special **22.95**

R2112. Fritz Wunderlich: SONGS FROM VIENNESE OPERETTAS. Fritz Wunderlich & Friederike Sailer in 8 songs and duets from the brightest, merriest of Vienna's operettas, works by Johann Strauss, Lehar, Von Suppe, others; Stuttgart Philharmonic. Mareczek cond. **Stereo.** Only **1.49**

R2044. Rimsky-Korsakov: SCHEHERAZADE. Exotic Arabian Nights symphonic suite; Bolshoi Theatre Orch, Alexei Melik-Pashayev cond. **Mono.** Pub. at $4.98. Special **1.00**

R637. New Release: Weber's DER FREISCHUTZ. Powerful, memorable performance with Birgit Nilsson, Nicolai Gedda, Walter Berry; Munich Opera, Robert Heger cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $17.95. 3 Discs, Only **13.88**

R433. Berlioz: REQUIEM. The full, tragic beauty of the Berlioz Requiem, superbly performed & recorded in La Chapelle of the Hotel des Invalides, scene of its premiere; Jean Giraudeau, tenor, RTF Chorus, Nat. Opera Orch, Hermann Scherchen cond. **Stereo.** 2 Discs, Only **4.98**

R632. Vivaldi: 4 CONCERTOS FOR 2 ORCHESTRAS. Unique Baroque stereo concert: Ctos in C & D, P.14 & 164 for the Feast of the Assumption, Cto in B Flat, P.368 with Scordatura Violin & Cto in A, P226 with Flute Obbligato; Soloists of Brussels & Soloists of Milan, Ephrikian cond. **Stereo.** Only **1.98**

R629. Mozart: LUCIO SILLA. Only Available Recording of this superb early opera with soloists Fiorenza Cossotto, Rena Gary Falachi, Dora Gatta, Ferrando Ferrari, Luigi Pontiggia, others; Milan Polyphonic Chorus & Angelicum Chamber Orch, Carlo Felice Cillario cond. **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **7.47**

R640. New Release: Beethoven's CREATURES OF PROMETHEUS (Complete). *Ballet masterpiece with the Menuhin* Festival Orch, Menuhin cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $5.95. Only **4.69**

R639. New Release: Barenboim & Boulez in BARTOK'S PIANO CONCERTOS 1 & 3. Thrilling performances with Daniel Barenboim; New Philharmonia Orch, Pierre Boulez cond. **Stereo.** Pub. at $5.95. Only **4.69**

R638. TRIBUTE TO GERALD MOORE. Gerald Moore at the piano with Victoria de los Angeles, Fischer-Dieskau, Janet Baker, Schwarzkopf, Gedda, plus works with Yehudi Menuhin, Jacqueline Du Pre, Leon Goossens, Barenboim & de Peyer. **Stereo.** Only **4.69**

BEETHOVEN BICENTENARY

R636. Daniel Barenboim's BEETHOVEN: THE 32 PIANO SONATAS. Widely acclaimed Beethoven interpreter Daniel Barenboim's brilliant cycle of the complete Beethoven Piano Sonatas. An $83.30 Value. Deluxe 14-Disc Package, Only **49.88**

R635. Rostropovich/Dvorak: CONCERTO FOR CELLO & ORCHESTRA. Incomparable performance with Mstislav Rostropovich, Royal Philharmonic Orch, Sir Adrian Boult cond. **Stereo.** Only **1.98**

R634. V BY VIVALDI. Grand Prix du Disque recording of 5 superb Ctos for solo instruments & Orch: Ctos for 4 Violins, Soprano Recorder, Two Trumpets, Mandolin, & 2 Mandolins; Toulouse Chamber Orch, Auriacombe cond. **Stereo.** Only **1.98**

R584. FRANCO CORELLI: Portrait of the Artist. Today's "prince of tenors" in 33 arias & songs from Aida, Trovatore, Gioconda, Manon Lescaut, Tosca, Turandot, Cavalleria, *Andrea Chenier, Puritani, Xerxes, Adriana Lecouvreur,* more. **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **9.38**

R583. ELISABETH SCHWARZKOPF: Portrait of the Artist. The noble, formidable, radiant Schwarzkopf in 28 arias, scenes & songs: Rosenkavalier Finale, He Shall Feed His Flock (Messiah), Schubert Erlkonig, Porgi amor & Dove sono (Marriage of Figaro), arias from Freischutz, Otello, Boheme, *7 operetta arias, more.* **Stereo.** 3 Discs, Only **9.38**

R545. Gustav Holst: THE PLANETS. Powerful symphonic suite portraying the astrological "personalities" of the planets; Vienna State Opera Orch, Sir Adrian Boult cond. **Stereo.** Only **2.49**

R223. THE CLASSICAL GUITAR OF JULIAN BREAM: 3 Record Set. Bach: Chaconne, Sarabande & Bouree, 6 more; Falla: Tombeau De Claude Debussy; Torroba: Nocturno & Burgalesa, 2 more; Soj: Largo, Rondo Allegretto & Minuetto, 4 more; Villa-Lobos' 5 Preludes; Turina: Hommage A Tarrega, 3 more. Rechanneled for **Stereo.** 3 Disc Set, Special **6.88**

R202. Wagner: PARSIFAL. Never-to-be-forgotten all-star cast: Wolfgang Windgassen, Martha Modl, George London, Ludwig Weber; an unsurpassed interpretation with conductor Hans Knappertabusch & The Bayreuth Festival Orch. **Mono.** 5-Disc Set, Only **9.88**

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

marboro Dept. NR-184, 131 Varick St., New York, N. Y. 10013

Please send me the bargains circled below. **(Please add 50c postage and handling on all orders.) MINIMUM MAIL ORDER $3.**

☐ Ship C.O.D.* ☐ Enclosed find $_____

Charge my (check one) ☐ Amer. Exp. ☐ Carte Blanche ☐ First Nat'l City ☐ Diners Club ☐ Uni-Card Charge Card } Limited to orders of $5.00 or more

& write in your account #_____ the amount of $_____

R154	R165	R180	R181	R202	R223	R235	R290	R311	R323	R388	R399	R408
R433	R512	R513	R522	R526	R527	R530	R531	R545	R548	R549	R552	R555
R556	R559	R560	R561	R562	R563	R564	R566	R569	R575	R576	R577	R578
R579	R580	R583	R584	R587	R588	R590	R591	R594	R597	R629	R630	R631
R632	R634	R635	R636	R637	R638	R639	R640	R641	R804	R848	R922	R1351
R1642	R1708	R1710	R1779	R1812	R1844	R1853	R1973	R2044	R2112	R2175	R2225	R2299
R2300	R2303	R2335	R2336	R2424	R2425	R2428	R2435	R2438	R2445	R2463	R2464	R2474
R2490	R2550			R2603	R2604	R2608	R2630	R2633	R2638	R2639	R2640	R2642
R2663	R2683	R2686	R2687	R2688	R2689	R2690	R2691					

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

☐ **Check here if you receive monthly bargain circular.** New York City residents add 6% sales tax. Other New York State residents add applicable sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D. Same sale bargains at all Marboro Book Shops.

10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Cossums aren't trying to save the world. Just a little piece of it.

Lester Davis is a friendly, dark-eyed little boy whose smile can light up an entire room. But for most of his six years, he hasn't had much to smile about.

Lester lives in Laurel Creek, an Appalachian town of 200 people in a county with a per capita income of $557 a year. Like most of the other people of Laurel Creek, Lester lives in a three-room weatherboard house, along with his mother and father and nine brothers and sisters. They have no well, and of course no inside plumbing. So Lester's mother, Tressie, carries all the family water up from the nearby creek.

Lester's father, Ray, used to work in the coal mines, but since the mines "played out" he's been unemployed. As Tressie admits, "It's awful hard going. We never could get us a good start before." They still wouldn't have a "start" if it weren't for the Cossum family.

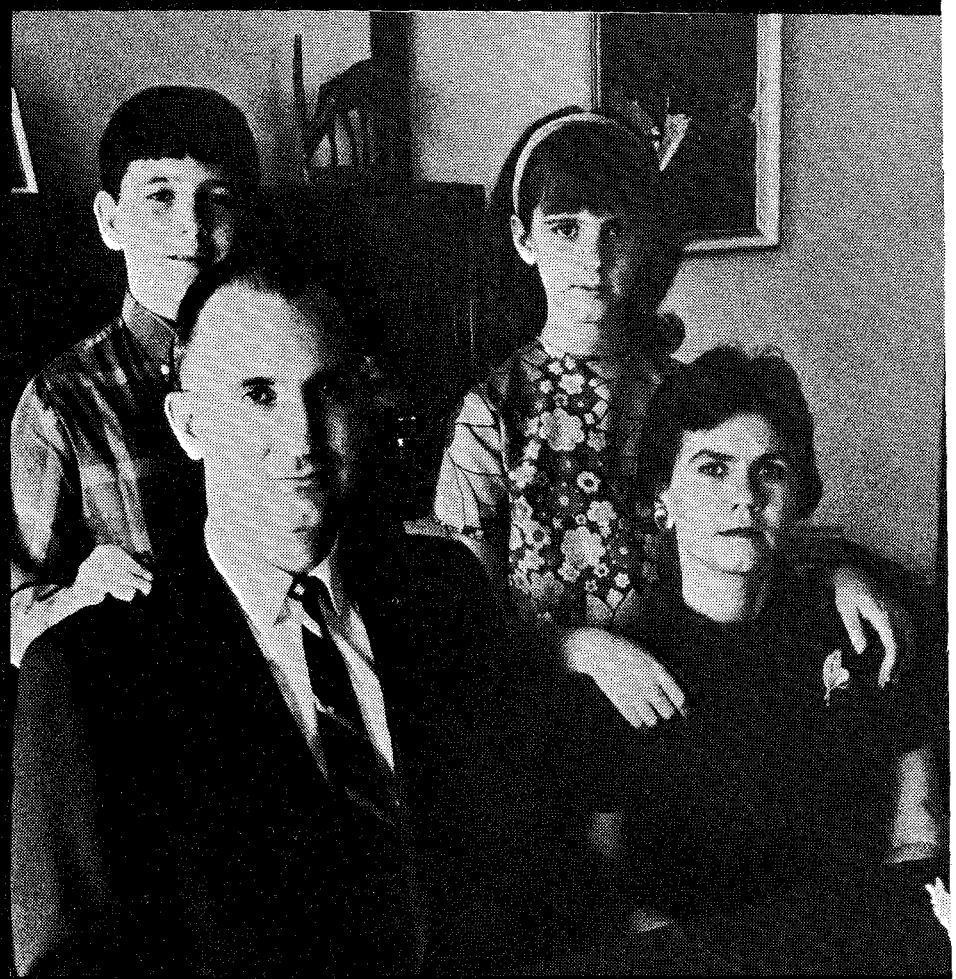
Ed and Martha Cossum live in a suburban community of contemporary homes. Looking out back you can see one of those large, above-ground plastic swimming pools. And you can see the beginnings of a redwood deck around the pool, which Ed and his two children, Bill and Carol, are building themselves.

Ed is a systems analyst. He spends most of his day thinking about third generation computers. Fortunately, Ed and Martha also think about this generation of children living in Appalachia.

Through Save The Children Federation, the Cossums are helping Lester and his family. They contribute $15 a month. Though it's not a lot of money, the Cossums could probably have done a lot of other things with it.

The Cossums' contribution will be made available to the Davises not as a gift, or charity, but as a loan. An interest-free loan which Lester's father can borrow to begin a self-help project.

Mr. Davis already has a project in mind. He plans to use the Cossums' money to buy and feed two cows, then sell the calves as they come along. As Mr. Davis says, "A man likes to find ways to take care of his own family."



Already there is a new feeling of hope in the Davis family, and confidence and pride in their ability to help themselves.

That really is what Save The Children is all about. Although contributions are deductible as a charity, the aim is not merely to buy one child a new pair of overalls or a warm coat. Instead, your contribution is used to give people a little boost to start helping themselves.

Sponsors are desperately needed for other Appalachian children and American Indian children, as well as children in Korea, Vietnam, Latin America, Africa and Greece.

As a sponsor you will receive a photo and history of the child, progress reports and a chance to cor-

The Cossums know they can't save the world for $15 a month. Only a little piece of it. But maybe that is the way to save the world, if enough people care. How about you?

Save The Children Federation, founded in 1932, is registered with the U.S. State Department Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Financial statements on request.

National Sponsors (partial list): Claude Arpels, Faith Baldwin, Hon. James A. Farley, Andy Griffith, Gene Kelly, Mrs. Eli Lilly, Paul Newman, Mrs. J.C. Penney, Norman Rockwell, Frank Sinatra

Save The Children Federation

NORWALK, CONNECTICUT 06852

I WISH TO CONTRIBUTE $180 ANNUALLY TO HELP A CHILD.
☐ WHERE THE NEED IS GREATEST ☐ LATIN AMERICA
☐ AMERICAN INDIAN ☐ APPALACHIA ☐ KOREA ☐ GREECE
☐ VIETNAM ☐ AFRICA

ENCLOSED IS MY FIRST PAYMENT
☐ $15.00 MONTHLY ☐ $45.00 QUARTERLY
☐ $90.00 SEMI-ANNUALLY ☐ $180.00 ANNUALLY

I CAN'T SPONSOR A CHILD. ENCLOSED IS A CONTRIBUTION OF $_____.

☐ PLEASE SEND ME MORE INFORMATION.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____STATE_____ZIP_____

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE INCOME TAX DEDUCTIBLE NPA 41 9-69

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why did over 3/4 million record and tape collectors pay $5 to join Record Club of America

when other record or tape clubs would have accepted them free?

ANNOUNCING... SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY HALF-PRICE MEMBERSHIP

ONLY $2.50

MAIL COUPON BELOW TODAY!

COMPLETE TAPE SERVICE AT NO EXTRA MEMBERSHIP FEE

Compare Clubs and see	Columbia Record Club (as advertised in Stereo Review April 1969)	Capitol Record Club (as advertised in Look Feb. 4, 1969)	RCA Victor Record Club (as advertised in N.Y. Times Feb. 16, 1969)	Columbia Stereo Tape Cartridge Service (as advertised in Playboy May 1969)	RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA	
CAN YOU CHOOSE FROM ALL LABELS? LP's OR TAPES, INCLUDING CARTRIDGE, CASSETTE AND REEL-TO-REEL TAPES?	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES!	Choose any LP or tape on any label! No exceptions! Over 300 different *manufacturers* including Columbia, RCA Victor, Capitol, Angel, London, etc.
MUST YOU BUY A "MINIMUM" NUMBER OF RECORDS OR TAPES? HOW MANY?	11	10	4	12	NONE!	No obligations! No *yearly quota!* Take as many, as few, or none at all if you so decide!
HOW MUCH MUST YOU SPEND TO FULFILL YOUR LEGAL OBLIGATION?	$43.78 TO $54.78	$39.80 TO $49.80	$19.92 TO $23.92	$83.76	ZERO DOLLARS	You don't have to spend a penny—because you're not "legally obligated" to buy *even a single* record or tape!
CAN YOU BUY ANY RECORD OR TAPE YOU WANT AT A DISCOUNT?	NO	NO	NO	NO	ALWAYS!	You get discounts up to 79% OFF. Guaranteed never less than a third! No exceptions!
DO YOU EVER RECEIVE UNORDERED RECORDS OR TAPES?	YES	YES	YES	YES	NEVER!	There are no cards which you must return. Only the records and tapes you want are sent—and only when you ask us to send them.
HOW LONG MUST YOU WAIT FOR SELECTIONS TO ARRIVE?	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	5 to 6 weeks	NO LONG WAITS!	Your order processed same day received. No *shipping on cycle.*

LP DISCOUNTS TO 79%—PRICES AS LOW AS 99¢ PER RECORD!
Typical all-label "Extra Discount" sale

BUDGET SERIES AT ½ PRICE ..... $ .99
Frank Sinatra • Petula Clark • Glen Campbell
Nat Cole • Dean Martin • Dave Brubeck
Jack Jones • John Gary and others...

BUDGET SERIES AT ½ PRICE $1.25
Woodie Guthrie • Oistrakh • Richter • Callas
Rod McKuen • Tebaldi • Steinberg • Krips
Peter Seeger • Munch • Casals and others...

BEST SELLERS AT ½ PRICE $2.49
Herb Alpert • Simon & Garfunkel • Ramsey Lewis
Belafonte • Supremes • Mamas & Papas
The Cream • Eddie Arnold • Monkees and others...
plus... from 50% to as high as 79% discount on famous labels: RCA Victor, Capitol, Columbia, Decca, *Liberty, Motown, Elektra, Vanguard,* and others.

TAPE DISCOUNTS—33⅓%—ALL LABELS
Cartridges, Cassettes and Reel-to-Reel

★ **Choose any LP or tape *on any label! No exceptions!* Cartridges and cassetes included!**

★ **No "quotas" to buy. Take 0 records or tapes or 100!**

★ **Save! Discounts up to 79%! Prices as low as 99¢ per LP!**

★ **Every record and tape *brand new, first quality,* factory fresh—and guaranteed fully returnable!**

★ **All orders shipped same day received—no long waits!**

★ **No "hold back" on exciting new records and tapes!**

AT LAST A RECORD CLUB WITH NO "OBLIGATIONS"—ONLY BENEFITS!

This is the way you want it—the only record and tape club with no strings attached! Ordinary record or tape clubs make you choose from just a few labels—usually their own! They make you buy up to 12 records or tapes a year usually at full price—to fulfill your obligation. And if you forget to return their monthly card—they send you a record or tape you don't want and a bill for $4.98, $5.98 or $6.95! In effect, you may be charged almost double for your records and tapes.

BEWARE...
...Of "imitation all-label" clubs. For example, Records Unlimited is *secretly owned by...Columbia* Records! They don't send a "master LP catalog" with all labels (we send one with over 15,000 listings on *all labels*). Their announcements stress Columbia products and they charge extra for many other labels. (We have no "parent" company telling us what *label* to push and there is never an extra charge for any label.) And, they don't offer any tapes at all! So beware of imitators. We are still the only major record and tape club NOT OWNED OR CONTROLLED BY any record or tape manufacturer.

But Record Club of America Ends All That!

We're the largest and only all label record and tape club in the world. Choose any LP or tape, including cartridges and cassettes ...on any label...including new releases. No exceptions! Take as many, or few, or no selections at all if you so decide. Discounts are GUARANTEED AS HIGH AS 79% OFF! You never pay full-price! You get best sellers for as low as 99¢, plus a small handling and mailing charge.

How Can We Break All Record and Tape Club Rules!

We are the only major record and tape club NOT OWNED...NOT CONTROLLED... NOT SUBSIDIZED by any record or tape manufacturer anywhere. Therefore, we are never obliged by company policy to push any one label, or honor the list price of any manufacturer. Nor are we prevented by distribution commitments, as are other major record or tape clubs, from offering the very newest records and tapes.

Join Record Club of America now and take advantage of this special INTRODUCTORY HALF PRICE membership offer. Mail coupon with check or money order—NOT for regular $5.00 fee—but only HALF THAT PRICE... just $2.50. You SAVE $2.50. This entitles you to LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP—and you never pay another club fee.

Look What You Get

Lifetime Membership Card—guarantees you brand new LP's and tapes at discounts up to 79% ... Never less than ⅓ off.

Free Giant Master Catalog—lists available LP's of all labels! Over 15,000 listings! Also, FREE Master Catalog of Tapes sent on request.

Disc and Tape Guide—The Club's FREE Magazine, and special Club sales announcements which bring you news of just-issued new releases and *extra discount specials.*

Guaranteed Same-Day Service

Record Club of America's own computer system ships order same day received! Every record brand new, fully guaranteed.

Money Back Guarantee

If you aren't absolutely delighted with our discounts (up to 79%)—return items within 10 days and membership fee will be refunded AT ONCE! Join over one million budget wise record and tape collectors now. Mail coupon to: Record Club of America Club Headquarters, York, Pa. 17405

Your $2.50 membership fee entitles you to buy or offer gift memberships to friends, relatives, neighbors for only $1.00 each with full privileges. You can split the total between you—the more gift members you get—the more you save!

FREE! **World's largest Master Catalog of available LP's to choose from when you join Record Club of America**

Lists *over* 15,000 available LP's on *all* labels! Classical—Popular—Jazz—Folk—Broadway & Hollywood sound tracks—Spoken Word—Rock and Roll—Comedy—Rhythm & Blues—Country and Western—Dancing—Listening—Mood! No Exceptions!

FREE! **Master Tape Catalog of available cartridge, cassette and reel-to-reel tapes *sent on request at no extra membership fee.***

RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA **X770G**
Club Headquarters, York, Pa. 17405

Yes—Rush me lifetime Membership Card, Free Giant Master LP Catalog (check box below if you also wish Master Tape Catalog) and Disc and Tape Guide at this limited Special Introductory Half Price membership offer. I enclose—NOT the regular $5.00 membership fee—but $2.50. (Never another club fee for the rest of my life.) This entitles me to buy any LP's and Tapes at discounts up to 79% plus a small mailing and handling charge. I am not obliged to buy any records or tapes—no yearly quota. If not completely delighted I may return items above within 10 days for immediate refund of membership fee. ☐ Send Master Tape Catalog

Also send_____Gift Membership(s) at $1.00 each to the names on attached sheet. Indicate master catalogs required.

I enclose Total of $_____covering one $2.50 Lifetime Membership plus any Gift Memberships at $1.00 each.

Print Name_____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____

 © 1969 RECORD CLUB OF AMERICA, INC.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB®

from Washington

Bad? That's Good

Fine news, folks, we are in a recession. The Nixon Administration has apparently pulled it off. For four months now the rate of national production (stripped of inflation) has been going down. If it goes down for two more months it will be official (the technical definition of a recession is: a decline for two successive "quarters" i.e., six months). But I think we can begin calling it a recession already.

It's good news, you understand, because sooner or later it will halt inflation, and we're all against *that*, aren't we? I can't put it better than A. Gary Shilling who is chief economist of the nation's largest brokerage house, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc. (With a name like that anything sounds authoritative.) As reported last week he said, "We regard the prospect of a major recession as a favorable outlook." It would be "favorable," he explained, because it would kill inflationary expectations and result in a cutting back of spending, particularly by businessmen.

A lot of financial men privately agree with Mr. Shilling but few are so outspoken. A current, popular forecast among economists is that we will have only a "mild" recession. That wouldn't satisfy Shilling at all. It would mean that the fever hadn't really been purged. Inflationary expectations, he says, would still persist among consumers and businessmen and the nation would be back on the old treadmill in no time. We must go through the wringer, he insists cheerfully.

The cartoonist of the *Chicago Daily News* got to the heart of the matter when he had the homecoming worker tell his wife: "The good news is – I'm in the forefront of the fight on inflation. The bad news is, I'm fired."

Anybody can see that something very extraordinary is happening in the economy, and its ultimate consequences may show up in a lot of places. It will have an effect probably on racial tensions next summer, on the national mood toward Vietnam, and probably on the midterm election in 10 months.

That something very strange is going on is evident in esoteric things like this: you can buy a high-grade bond quite cheap; in fact the demand is so low that the interest rate has gone up to 9 percent. Or you can buy a blue-chip utility stock (interest virtually guaranteed) to yield 6.9 percent. Or you can note what's happened to the stock market. Optimists predicted the Dow Jones Industrial average in the nine-year boom would break through the 1000 mark (it actually reached a peak of 985 on Dec. 5, 1968). But instead of that it's down to something under 800 as this is written. That's a loss in paper values of maybe $150 billion, lumping all the markets together.

The only thing that has been going up is the cost of living. The last time this happened was under Gen. Eisenhower, who managed to have three recessions in eight years and a rise in living costs simultaneously – no mean feat, it was generally felt at the time.

In fairness to Mr. Nixon, he didn't produce this inflation, he inherited it; and the anti-inflation noose he has tightened around the economy's neck, crude though it is, is the currently accepted way of dealing with it. It's like cupping in old-fashioned medicine. George Washington didn't die naturally, the doctors bled him to death. Economics is about as crude as that today. Every social service in the nation cries for a bigger national output and yet we fight inflation by strangling output with a noose of tight money.

Arthur Burns, Mr. Nixon's trusted economic adviser, takes over as chairman of the quasi-independent Federal Reserve Board February 1. Economists are now practically pleading with the divided Fed for easier credit – to loosen the noose. Maybe Burns can do it.

Paying for Vietnam

Inflation got under way when Lyndon Johnson didn't raise taxes as he should in 1965. And he didn't raise taxes because he knew Congress wouldn't vote them. And Congress wouldn't vote them because the people weren't willing to pay for the Vietnam war. The public had been told that it would b a cheap, quick war and raising taxe would show that these promises wer lies. Americans are patriotic and hav paid and sacrificed for every moder war but Vietnam.

So the war was paid for in two ways the Treasury borrowed money ir IOU's (bonds) which were inflationary; and the social needs of the poo were skimped by budget economies - in ghettoes, in health, in education, in environment, in sewers and parks. The war on poverty languished to feed the war in Asia. We naturally couldn't sacrifice national honor to cut down the $30 billion a year for Vietnam, could we? – so the cost came partly out of the poor. Put differently, America saved money by postponing national plant and upkeep, just the way you can "save" money by not going to your dentist, or by not fixing that leak in your roof. The result is about the same in the long run, whether for you, or your house, or your nation.

A real recession, we imagine, would finally make the public face up to the domestic cost of the Vietnam war. It would be a heavy price to pay, but is worth considering. The doves, we think, have won their argument. They wanted to halt bombing; it is over. They wanted troops withdrawn; some are coming home. Mr. Nixon's Gallup Poll rating, we believe, hangs on the slender thread of continued troop withdrawal. Cut that and down comes Nixon. There are very few 100 percent Alsop-type hawks left anymore. By the debater's device of imputing absurd attitudes to your opponent and then slipping into the position that he has held all along, the erstwhile hawks are now denouncing those who would "cut and run," or who advocate "immediate" precipitous withdrawal, ignoring the fact that most war opponents are are prepared to give a reasonable time to get out.

Drafting men to fight in a land war 10,000 miles away is something that no sensible great power has ever attempted. The British didn't use a conscript army in India or Asia in all their years of imperial rule. Lyndon Johnson tried it and Richard Nixon backed him up. It was an unpopular war which nobody could quite explain, 10,000 miles off, and when Westmoreland asked for 206,000 more men the air came out of the balloon. There are few hawks left.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 162, Number 2, Issue 2872, January 10, 1970. Published weekly (48 issues a year) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6; Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1970 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

7-8 Comment
Will He Veto a Better America?
Which McCarthy?
8 In the Wake of Camille
– *David Zwerdling*
10 Wiping Out the Demonstration Schools
– *Joseph Featherstone*
12 Law and Order in the Seventies
– *Herbert L. Packer*
13 Overpopulated America
– *Wayne H. Davis*
16 Italy Between Governments
– *Roy Meachum*
18 What Have We Done to Vietnam?
– *Robert E. Cook*
William Hazeltine, Arthur W. Galston
21 Black Panther Killings in Chicago
–*Christopher Chandler*
25 Books – Reviews by *Robert Evett, David Madden, Jonathan Yardley*
Poems
25 *Leonard Nathan*
32 *Scott.Bates*

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison

Managing Editor – Alex Campbell

Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore

Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann

Associate Editors – David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone, John Osborne

Production Manager – Ira Klafter

Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers

Contributing Editors – Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, James Ridgeway, Paul Wieck

S.E. Asia Correspondent – Zalin B. Grant

London Correspondent – Anthony Howard

Publisher – Robert J. Myers

Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman

Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen

National Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams

Advertising Sales – Holly Reppert
20 West 43rd St., New York, N. Y. 10036

Will He Veto a Better America?

On grounds of economy, President Nixon threatens to veto the $20-billion appropriations bill for welfare and education. He made the threat two days after the Senate appropriated the money, and Congress postponed final action on the bill so as not to risk a "pocket veto" during adjournment. The battle will resume January 19. It could be a key battle of the seventies. The Senate Appropriations Committee told the President that "even in times of economic uncertainty, programs that represent long-term investments in the basic health and well-being of our society" should be maintained and enlarged. Many Republicans in both Houses resisted White House pressure put on them to vote against the measure. So this has become something of a showdown issue. The controversial component of the bill is extra money for the Office of Education. The Congress conferees increased funds for education by a full third over the Administration's figure: $4.3 billion instead of $3.2 billion. Mr. Nixon is threatening a veto even though he himself said in 1968, "When I look at American education I do not see schools, but children, and young men and women – young Americans who deserve the chance to make a life for themselves and ensure the progress of their country. If we fail in this, no success we have is worth the keeping." But fine words butter only parsimony. If he vetoes the education appropriation, Mr. Nixon will be taking a giant step backward. President Buchanan vetoed an education bill; but that was in 1859.

Slowing spending on education in the seventies is false economy. It is digging up the young plants to keep the garden trim, instead of tackling the weeds that run wild, for instance military waste. Congress, including Republicans, voted more than $1 billion extra for social programs, especially education, and $5.6 billion less for arms. Congress is right and a wise President would heed this trend. Huge sums have been thrown away by the Pentagon. To point to only one category, cost overruns of defense contractors total a staggering $19.8 billion. That is almost precisely the sum – $20 billion – the Milton Eisenhower Commission on Violence estimates as the annual cost of remaking America. One important ingredient of its prescription is improved educational facilities.

The world's richest country is headed toward a college education for every young American and a postgraduate education for more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Americans. Enrollment in colleges is expected to grow from seven million students to more than 11 million in 1980. And in that year it is estimated there will be 75 million high school graduates, which is 18 million more than now. But in addition, extra efforts will need to be made in the seventies to provide special attention for all "dropouts," white or black. Only about 6.5 percent of high school graduates, and only three percent of college students, are black. Yet blacks constitute 12 percent of the country's college-age population. More has to be done to bring Negroes as well as whites up to college-entry level.

The country can't afford not to, without risking the seventies being even rowdier than the sixties. True, college kids cause campus ructions, though they probably wouldn't in a less self-deluding society. But college-age kids not on campus are going to have increasing difficulty getting and keeping worthwhile jobs. That would mean ructions in the streets, where there's enough chaos already.

Fortunately, America in the seventies will be well able to afford keeping its kids in school until they graduate from college, provided the country stops chucking its money as well as its youth down military rat-holes. By 1979, if productivity just holds the rate it's averaged since World War II, the gross national product will be close to two million dollars. Only well-educated people are likely to spend such a vast annual sum intelligently, by preferring a better environment to military tinkertoys. That's why Mr. Nixon, who presumably hopes still to be President when the country celebrates its 200th birthday in 1976, should now be planning a better America, not growling about vetoing it.

Which McCarthy?

Persons too irritated to be precise have accused the Vice President of reviving McCarthyism. They should specify. Three McCarthys have made the name a household word, but Mr. Agnew's prototype was neither Joe nor Gene, but Charlie. A generation ago Charlie McCarthy's flapping jaw was familiar to millions, but all understood that the words were those of his master, the ventriloquist. Mr. Agnew recently told a group of newspaper women that he has unrestricted use of the services of five or six of Mr. Nixon's star speech-writers. Obviously, then, while the flapping jaw is unquestionably Mr. Agnew's, the words presumably are Mr. Nixon's speech-writers', gentry whose business is to project Mr. Nixon's thought. If this is the McCarthyism that Mr. Agnew is accused of reviving, the accusers have a point that cannot easily be denied.

In the Wake Of Camille

When Gulf Coast Mississippians talk now about the great disaster, they mean not only hurricane Camille which ripped apart 600 square miles of their state last August 17, but also the national relief effort that followed.

The script begins with Mississippi Governor John Bell Williams forming a Governor's Emergency Council on September 6, and ordering it to write a comprehensive plan for the long-range economic development of the disaster area. Initial operating expenses for the Council come from a $495,000 grant made by the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration. In a state which is 43 percent black, and largely impoverished, Williams appointed to the Council ten white, rich bankers, realtors, attorneys and corporation executives. (This was not unusual; in the 104 governor's councils, one member is black.) Ten days later, President Nixon issued an executive order commanding "all agencies and departments of the government of the United States . . . to coordinate their activities and efforts" through Williams' Council. The Council has become the main clearinghouse for spending over $100 million of federal aid.

Over 6000 destitute families began reemerging in September from storm refugee camps, ready to begin reconstructing their lives. Over 80 miles of the Gulf Coast, once crammed with hotels, homes and businesses, lay flattened by the worst hurricane in our history. Two towns, Pass Christian and Long Beach had been virtually blown from the face of the earth by 200 mph winds; their wreckage had been washed away. The toll: 135 dead, 12,000 homes destroyed or badly damaged, 600 businesses obliterated. One third of Mississippi's economy had disappeared.

Where does a family begin when its world has physically vanished and dead relatives and friends lie pinned beneath rubble? Most people had no idea what aid was available, where to get it or how to get there (most cars and buses were battered, too).

Storm victims generally flocked first to the Red Cross, whose 29 emergency field offices gave outright grants – not loans – for food, clothing and housing. However, "the Red Cross told people to exhaust all other possibilities for aid before coming to them," reports Gilbert Mason, Biloxi NAACP chairman. That meant going to Housing and Urban Development to find a trailer to live in. Families who didn't own big enough lots or families who couldn't clear the debris from their lots, didn't qualify under HUD regulations. Neither did poor families who owned decrepit inland shacks which the storm damaged but left standing. Most trailers didn't arrive until October and Novem-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ber (only 16 had trickled into hard-hit inland counties by late October), and the first families who managed to get them signed blank leases without knowing how long they could live in the trailers or how much rent they would have to pay. HUD simply hadn't formulated its terms. Before HUD even publicized the trailer policy, it suddenly announced it would not consider more applications – one official told the Friends Service, HUD was "unsympathetic" to anyone who failed to apply. When local groups pointed out that hardly anyone in such confused circumstances knew about the trailer rentals, HUD extended the application deadline 30 days. Finally, at the end of October, HUD announced it would pay the $50 per month rent and utilities for three months, although the law permits the government to pay up to one year. After that, families would pay on their own. (HUD did add a poverty provision guaranteeing that no one would have to pay more than 25 percent of his income for the trailers. That sounds good, but actually doesn't affect anyone unless his income falls below $2400 a year.)

Once storm victims moved into their shiny but cramped quarters, they could approach the finance agencies like Small Business Administration, to see about rebuilding their homes and businesses. In the coastal areas, the hurricane left SBA offices as wiped out and confused as anyone else. (One OEO official working in the field recalls "finding a man wandering the streets mumbling something about the SBA. I asked him if he needed help finding their office, and he said, 'Yes, I'm the local SBA representative.'") But even storm victims who found the SBA couldn't get help unless they already had substantial assets to provide loan collateral. The poor had no collateral, and middle- and marginal-income families who once had collateral had lost it to hurricane Camille. As a result, most loan agencies automatically discriminated against the poor, and therefore against most blacks – particularly SBA, which granted over 90 percent of its loan dollars to whites. Moreover, many people, stunned by the total destruction, couldn't fill out the detailed SBA applications. "We don't have much patience with someone who can't fill out a form," said one SBA official. SBA referred these people to lawyers, who were reportedly charging up to $200 for completing one application.

Many hurricane victims again resorted to the Red Cross, after harrowing episodes with HUD and the SBA. The Red Cross is a quasi-government agency chartered by Congress as America's official human relief organization. It exercises autonomy over its funds and operations. The Red Cross, however, sees its mission as helping families "resume their normal family life in the home and in the community." This means restoring the comfortable to their accustomed standards even if the poor suffer for it. The poor get just enough to restore their shacks, the middle class receive much bigger grants to rebuild their comfortable homes. The Friends Service cites a case in which a $39,000 income family received a full bedroom outfit, while another family, which made $3,000 per year, got a mattress. An official Red Cross food guide, furthermore, advises caseworkers to follow either a "low-cost" or "moderate-cost" budget in doling out money to needy families. The low-cost food plan, reads the guide, "places a heavier reliance on less expensive food groups, such as potatoes, legumes (dried beans and peas), flour and cereals. The moderate-cost food plan permits the use of higher-priced cuts of meats, eggs, citrus fruits, and some frozen and convenience foods."

While storm victims struggled with relief agencies on one front, they fell prey to insurance adjusters and land speculators on another. The insurance scandal has already hit the national press and resulted in a grand jury investigation. Soon after the hurricane, the state insurance commission approved a 50 percent rate increase for the coast. And insurance adjusters descended in droves, pressuring wiped out families in desperate need of money to settle for a quick cash settlement worth only a fraction of their total damage claims.

The Mississippi State Bar Association urgently called the Office of Economic Opportunity on August 22 to request funding for a legal services program. Within 12 hours – the quickest grant approval in its history – OEO was sending $50,000 to the Bar, despite the latter's conservative, racist stance. (OEO officials now describe the grant as a sacrifice, made in order to get a foot in the door of Mississippi's legal programs.) Since then, none of OEO's money has gone to helping the poor. Instead, Bar President Boyce Holleman – the coast district attorney who won fame prosecuting civil rights workers in 1963-65 – has funneled the grant toward middle- and lower-middle-class whites. Holleman has told lawyers volunteering from various civil rights organizations to get lost.

Now, almost five months after hurricane Camille, most of the wreckage has been cleared away and a few small businesses are coming to life. Some roads are almost repaired, and water and sewage lines are being relaid. A few families have returned to their damaged but repairable homes.

Most of the 4900 families still homeless live in emergency HUD trailers scattered over the coast. The poor and the new poor who lost their holdings in the storm don't know how they will begin paying rent and utilities when their leases expire this month, how they will purchase food (the state welfare department has refused to lower food stamp prices), or where they will find work. The Department of Labor recently released $800,000 in Emergency Disaster Unemployment Compensation to Mississippi workers, but they will need more money than that. Industry hasn't started

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moving back. When it does, businesses like the canning companies will probably mechanize. (The Army Corps of Engineers didn't help during the debris cleanup by letting $21 million in contracts to out-of-state firms, rather than local firms who desperately needed them. Local firms didn't produce the best bids, according to Corps personnel, who add, "We can't give them preferential treatment."

OEO has tried to initiate social rehabilitation, but the government has tied its hands. Within three weeks after the hurricane, OEO visited all the concerned federal agencies, peddling lengthy recommendations on community action programs like day-care centers, consumer education, transportation pools, and special outreach programs for the elderly and sick. But HUD and everyone else ignored them. "All the agencies told us the poor are OEO's problem," says an OEO official. But OEO doesn't have the necessary money, which must come through Governor Williams' office. Community groups in Mississippi had hoped to get some of the $1.7 million raised by Bob Hope's "We Care" fund appeal on television. But most of that money, donated by citizens wanting to ease human misery, has been invested by local governments in municipal bonds where it quietly earns interest.

Mississippi's Governor's Council busies itself with grandiose economic plans. Councilmen, industry and state political leaders have their eyes on consolidating the coastal communities into a model metropolitan region – whose shining glory will be a $100 million complex with golf courses, boat marinas and high-priced apartments styled in a Hawaiian motif. Meanwhile, local black leaders Gilbert Mason, and Robert Clark the only Negro state legislator, have filed a formal complaint with the Commerce Department, charging the all-white Council violates Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which forbids discriminatory use of federal funds. Commerce investigators are still studying the matter, but the Governor may first yield to growing pressure to appoint three blacks to the Council, to avoid embarrassing legal hassles.

From the moment Mr. Nixon turned the mostly Dixiecrat Governor's Council into a conduit for $100 million in federal funds, he made valuable friends among the state's top Democrats. Many lavished their affections at a state Republican fund-raising dinner last October for Vice President Agnew – who preceded his pitch for Republican support by a grand tour of the disaster area. "The indication Nixon wants to do everything possible to help is certainly making an impression," notes Fred LaRue, Nixon's special consultant on political patronage and now his personal liaison with the Council. That was also the message in recent full-page newspaper ads picturing the President and Williams in a fond handshake: "Mississippi thanks President Nixon."

Daniel Zwerdling

Wiping Out the Demonstration Schools

New York City

A five-man interim Board of Education is charged with the sorry task of setting up a "community" school system for this city's troubled schools. Under a state law enacted last spring, each of some 30-odd school districts in the city is to have a locally elected school board with extremely limited powers – chief of which is the power to pick a local superintendent. So far, the interim Board's most important decision has been to abolish the three controversial demonstration districts. This, the Board acknowledged was not an easy decision. Some people wonder whether it was necessary.

The state law did not specifically require an end to the experiments, but it did stipulate that all city school districts must have an average daily attendance of at least 20,000 students. Ocean Hill-Brownsville, which is the largest of the three demonstration districts, has only 9000 pupils. In order to comply with the law, therefore, the Board said it had no choice but to absorb Ocean Hill into a new Brooklyn district along with 13 other schools in the neighboring Brownsville area. Also, it says, the IS 201 complex in Harlem and the Two Bridges district in lower Manhattan will have to go.

In its initial plan, the Board conceded that there are divided opinions on the demonstration districts. By many reports, the interim Board itself was initially split, with two members favoring retention of the model districts in some form, two opposed, and one undecided. After meeting with Mayor Lindsay's staff, and after testing the determination of the United Federation of Teachers and other union groups, the Board changed its mind and voted 4-1 to scrap the experiments altogether. The solitary vote belonged to Isaiah E. Robinson, Jr., the only black member.

Legal opinions differ. The city's chief legal officer, the Corporation Counsel, produced a brief arguing that the three districts could not remain as autonomous entities; the city Board simply doesn't have the authority to continue their existence. On the other hand, a Special Counsel and a group called the Law Center for Constitutional Rights submitted a brief arguing the very opposite: "Nothing in the new School Decentralization Law specifically bars the Board of Education from continuing the existing demonstration projects. The state legislature was pressed to abolish the demonstration districts and failed to do so. The law, which is so full of minor details on other issues, is silent on the demonstration projects, and therefore cannot be interpreted as a mandate to abolish them." This brief says the state law does give the Board of Education authority to establish "such other schools or classes as such [sic] board shall deem necessary to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neet the demands of the city . . ." The brief also points out that the law gives the Chancellor (which s a new title for the Superintendent of Schools) power :o operate "any city-wide programs which regularly provide services to a substantial number of persons from more than one community district."

Thus, many believe, the Board could have designated all three projects, or at least the two most promising ones – Ocean Hill and IS 201 – as a city-wide experiment of some sort. Or the Board could have postponed deciding by setting up evaluation procedures to report on the progress of the three districts – presumably preserving them in limbo for at least a year or two. This is in effect what Mr. Robinson urged.

When the Board announced its initial plan, many witnesses showed up at hearings to point out that one standard was being applied to the demonstration districts and a totally different standard to other districts. The law says no district is to have under 20,000 students; yet the Board was quite prepared to ask the state legislature to make an exception in the case of Manhattan's districts, which were to retain their present size: District 3, for instance, had only 14,000 students, and districts 1, 2, 3, and 5 were all under the required 20,000. The reason the Board gave was that there were good working relationships in the Manhattan districts, and any change would generate intense public opposition. The question raised at the hearings was why, if the Board could except Manhattan, it could not do the same for the demonstration districts.

A long parade of witnesses appeared to speak their piece, exactly five minutes' worth, give or take a few minutes for procedural points and shouting sprees. Some said they liked their existing district lines; others asked for small changes. There were proposals for new districts in East Harlem and lower Manhattan from new groups that the turmoil over schools has brought into being. (This is particularly true of Puerto Rican groups, who are now much more active in pushing community control than they were a year ago.) But the most vocal witnesses were people speaking in support of Ocean Hill and IS 201. Some were the usual activists, some were parents, and all were saying what they've been saying all along: that the Board has broken faith with the black and Puerto Rican communities, that the demonstration districts are symbols of hope.

Occasionally a teacher was heard. Two of them made points that jibe with my observations. In the Brooklyn hearings, a teacher from Ocean Hill said there are three things about the project deserving mention. First, it was a chance to see whether local leadership could accomplish more than the "constipated school bureaucracy." It seemed to him that the project had called into being a genuine community organization in an otherwise fragmented area, where the only alternatives were the Mafia and the local Democratic machine. Second, he said that in his experience parents' involvement was growing. And third, there were some changes in the children: without making any grandiose claims, he thought that school was less alien to them; of 14 kids in a special class he had last year, 7 were now back in regular classes. In the Manhattan hearings, a teacher from the 201 complex said the atmosphere was improved, the kids were happier, there was less vandalism, teachers and parents got along better, and the school was less of a foreign enclave surrounded by a hostile ghetto. The situation now was "healthier," but the district was only beginning to scratch the surface. "As a teacher," he said, "I am pleading: please allow the districts to remain."

Finally, on December 22, the interim Board announced its revised and presumably final decision, which was approved 4-1, Mr. Robinson again dissenting on the issue of the demonstration districts. There were some surprises. The Board agreed that making an exception of the Manhattan districts was unfair; Manhattan would therefore be redistributed into units of 20,000. This disappointed those in Manhattan who are happy with their old district lines. Some of them must have been thinking that justice in New York is not often even-handed, and when it is, it seems to smite everybody equally low. Some Puerto Rican groups were pleased at the creation of a largely Puerto Rican district in East Harlem; others saw this as a move to split the black and Puerto Rican coalition on community control.

In the demonstration districts, people were of course gloomy and defiant. "We'll still be here," a principal said. Officials at both Ocean Hill and the IS 201 complex have been holding talks with various groups on the possibility of uniting to gain control of the new consolidated districts, but it is too early to tell whether the movement for community control can successfully fall back on this compromise strategy. My general impression is that support for the demonstration districts has solidified in the ghetto, at the same time that the chances for any compromise on community control have diminished.

Like Eliza leaping across the river on ice floes, the interim Board has to keep shifting from one shaky perch to another. Now it is trying to stave off crisis and buy time by postponing elections for local school boards in the new districts until March. It also hopes to push the date when the local boards take office from February to July, when the new "community" school system is supposed to start working. Meanwhile, constant repairs are necessary to keep the original state legislative machinery from falling apart. In November, a federal judge ruled that the proposed election procedures for the new city-wide Board of Education – elected from the five boroughs – violated the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote doctrine.

Joseph Featherstone

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Law and Order in the Seventies

by Herbert L. Packer

The decade just past has been both the best of times and the worst of times. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and the early 1960s, succeeded by the discovery of urban poverty, has fueled the development of a "procedural revolution" in criminal law and has established a national conscience intent upon changing the criminal process. The thrust of this development has been to reform the criminal process so that it will not continue to bear with unequal weight on the blacks, the urban poor, and the disadvantaged, but will instead serve the ends of freedom and equality. As this national conscience has become aroused, our judicial institutions have responded to the challenge. At the same time, the objective conditions in the world of law and order have gone from bad to worse; the growth of a sort of counter-conscience has shaken our confidence and has undermined our will to deal sensibly with our many-faceted crime problem.

The Supreme Court has insisted on "judicializing" every step in the criminal process and on equalizing the opportunity of all criminal defendants, regardless of their financial means, to offer effective challenges to the process. Freedom as against official tyranny has been the Court's rhetoric: *Mapp* (1961) applied the constitutional guarantee against illegal searches and seizures to the states; *Gideon* (1963) made it essential for the states to afford the effective assistance of counsel to criminal defendants; *Douglas* (1963) and *Mempa* (1967), respectively, opened the way for extending the *Gideon* rule to the appellate process and the correctional process; *Gault* (1967) opened the field of juvenile justice to due process; *Miranda* (1966) shook the power of the police to obtain and use confessions; electronic eavesdropping was in principle outlawed in *Katz* (1967). In each of these cases, previous decisions of the Court were overruled or at least questioned; these judicial developments were controversial; marked by dissent within the Court and accomplished by a drumfire of criticism from without, fed by the organized efforts of police and prosecutors.

The structure of the criminal process is only marginally affected by the Supreme Court's decisions. The opposition of the law enforcement apparatus has slowed change, where it has not completely blocked it. The Supreme Court can only decide cases; it does not have the power to ordain, establish or finance an adequate criminal process. The legislative response has been slow and grudging. Congress has passed the Criminal Justice Act of 1964 and the Bail Reform Act of 1966. But the real-life criminal process has remained what it was before the "procedural revolution": essentially unequal. The problem of over-criminalization – through laws making it a crime to use marijuana and other drugs, to gamble, to get abortions, to engage in unorthodox sexual practices – has been almost entirely untouched by official agencies of government. Yet these laws are demonstrably a principal cause not only of crime but also of disrespect for law.

We are faced in the seventies with a counter-conscience to the one which I have sketched. This counter-conscience has many sources: hostility to Supreme Court decisions which are thought to "handcuff the police"; the rapid increase in violent crime, particularly as it has helped to make our cities uninhabitable; the growth of the marijuana and drug culture, particularly among our youth; dissent among youth and intellectuals to the Vietnam War; the rise of backlash against both the aspirations and the growing militancy of blacks. All of this becomes symbolized as the "law and order" issue.

This issue and its underlying counter-conscience constituted the central issue, at least as articulated by Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace, in the 1968 election. The people are bemused by the "law and order" issue. They see it as a convenient symbol for what is wrong with America: our cities in flames or at least unsafe, our prestige abroad endangered, our black population and our youth in a state of rebellion.

The law and order issue, and the counter-conscience that it has aroused, are based on simplistic diagnoses and will most infallibly destroy us in this decade unless we manage to awaken from the dream of a nonexistent past which they have engendered.

How do we separate myth from reality? The Supreme Court, taking into account its activist role as promoter of the national conscience, has no causal connection at all with the increase in the crime rate. Violent crime has indeed increased. But it afflicts the deprived by a factor of at least one hundred more than

---

MR. PACKER *is professor of law at Stanford Law School.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it afflicts the "silent majority." Crime in the streets, as three successive Presidential commissions – the Crime Commission, the Riot Commission, the Violence Commission – have demonstrated, is not only the product of the growth of our ghettos, but wreaks its major damage on the one out of 70 ghetto-dwellers who has during the past year become the prey of the young mugger, the assailant or the rapist. Contrast that with the one in ten thousand of the population as a whole who have been similarly victimized. Dissent among youth is a problem, but repression can never solve the disaffection of youth.

The national conscience (as epitomized by all that is best in our tradition), as opposed to what I have called the counter-conscience, must be based on respect for law and order (which might better be called law and justice); but we have to recognize that law and order must be changed and made respectable. Can we possibly make law and order respectable for the blacks and for the young? Only by drastically changing our national priorities can we begin to make our cities habitable for the blacks and for the rest of us, as well. As for the young, and I mean especially the middle-class young, we must do two things: first, we must end the Vietnam War and either drastically reform or end the draft; second, we must make our laws less hypocritical, an issue that is symbolized by criminal penalties for the use of marijuana (although this symbol does not exhaust the contempt for law and its institutions engendered by our pervasive and fruitless efforts to enforce morality through the criminal law).

The counter-conscience that has made "support your local police" a political issue, will not be overcome until our legal system is thoroughly reformed: our basic laws must be sanitized, our police forces must be opened to and integrated with the forces of change, and our correctional systems must be made humane. These things require that we redirect our national priorities, not to the ABM, or to the SST, or to strengthening our repressive capacity abroad or at home, or even to domesticating the moon, but to rejuvenating our cities and our environment.

To the extent that crime is a product of the society we live in, law and order must become an umbrella for all of us, or we must resign ourselves to remaining a divided nation in which we are all either the hunters or the hunted. Which way we go during the 1970s, I would not even try to predict.

Our Affluence Rests on a Crumbling Foundation

Overpopulated America

by Wayne H. Davis

I define as most seriously overpopulated that nation whose people by virtue of their numbers and activities are most rapidly decreasing the ability of the land to support human life. With our large population, our affluence and our technological monstrosities the United States wins first place by a substantial margin.

Let's compare the US to India, for example. We have 203 million people, whereas she has 540 million on much less land. But look at the impact of people on the land.

The average Indian eats his daily few cups of rice (or perhaps wheat, whose production on American farms contributed to our one percent per year drain in quality of our active farmland), draws his bucket of water from the communal well and sleeps in a mud hut. In his daily rounds to gather cow dung to burn to cook his rice and warm his feet, his footsteps, along with those of millions of his countrymen, help bring about a slow deterioration of the ability of the land to support people. His contribution to the destruction of the land is minimal.

An American, on the other hand, can be expected to destroy a piece of land on which he builds a home, garage and driveway. He will contribute his share to the 142 million tons of smoke and fumes, seven million junked cars, 20 million tons of paper, 48 billion cans, and 26 billion bottles the overburdened environment must absorb each year. To run his air conditioner we will strip-mine a Kentucky hillside, push the dirt and slate down into the stream, and burn coal in a power generator, whose smokestack contributes to a plume

WAYNE H. DAVIS *teaches in the school of biological sciences at the University of Kentucky.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of smoke massive enough to cause cloud seeding and premature precipitation from Gulf winds which should be irrigating the wheat farms of Minnesota.

In his lifetime he will personally pollute three million gallons of water, and industry and agriculture will use ten times this much water in his behalf. To provide these needs the US Army Corps of Engineers will build dams and flood farmland. He will also use 21,000 gallons of leaded gasoline containing boron, drink 28,000 pounds of milk and eat 10,000 pounds of meat. The latter is produced and squandered in a life pattern unknown to Asians. A steer on a Western range eats plants containing minerals necessary for plant life. Some of these are incorporated into the body of the steer which is later shipped for slaughter. After being eaten by man these nutrients are flushed down the toilet into the ocean or buried in the cemetery, the surface of which is cluttered with boulders called tombstones and has been removed from productivity. The result is a continual drain on the productivity of range land. Add to this the erosion of overgrazed lands, and the effects of the falling water table as we mine Pleistocene deposits of groundwater to irrigate to produce food for more people, and we can see why our land is dying far more rapidly than did the great civilizations of the Middle East, which experienced the same cycle. The average Indian citizen, whose fecal material goes back to the land, has but a minute fraction of the destructive effect on the land that the affluent American does.

Thus I want to introduce a new term, which I suggest be used in future discussions of human population and ecology. We should speak of our numbers in "Indian equivalents". An Indian equivalent I define as the average number of Indian citizens required to have the same detrimental effect on the land's ability to support human life as would the average American. This value is difficult to determine, but let's take an extremely conservative working figure of 25. To see how conservative this is, imagine the addition of 1000 citizens to your town and 25,000 to an Indian village. Not only would the Americans destroy much more land for homes, highways and a shopping center, but they would contribute far more to environmental deterioration in hundreds of other ways as well. For example, their demand for steel for new autos might increase the daily pollution equivalent of 130,000 junk autos which *Life* tells us that US Steel Corp. dumps into Lake Michigan. Their demand for textiles would help the cotton industry destroy the life in the Black Warrior River in Alabama with endrin. And they would contribute to the massive industrial pollution of our oceans (we provide one third to one half the world's share) which has caused the precipitous downward trend in our commercial fisheries landings during the past seven years.

The per capita gross national product of the United States is 38 times that of India. Most of our goods and services contribute to the decline in the ability of the environment to support life. Thus it is clear that a figure of 25 for an Indian equivalent is conservative. It has been suggested to me that a more realistic figure would be 500.

In Indian equivalents, therefore, the population of the United States is at least four billion. And the rate of growth is even more alarming. We are growing at one percent per year, a rate which would double our numbers in 70 years. India is growing at 2.5 percent. Using the Indian equivalent of 25, our population growth becomes 10 times as serious as that of India. According to the Reinows in their recent book *Moment in the Sun*, just one year's crop of American babies can be expected to use up 25 billion pounds of beef, 200 million pounds of steel and 9.1 billion gallons of gasoline during their collective lifetime. And the demands on water and land for our growing population are expected to be far greater than the supply available in the year 2000. We are destroying our land at a rate of over a million acres a year. We now have only 2.6 agricultural acres per person. By 1975 this will be cut to 2.2, the critical point for the maintenance of what we consider a decent diet, and by the year 2000 we might expect to have 1.2.

You might object that I am playing with statistics in using the Indian equivalent on the rate of growth. I am making the assumption that today's Indian child will live 35 years (the average Indian life span) at today's level of affluence. If he lives an American 70 years, our rate of population growth would be 20 times as serious as India's.

But the assumption of continued affluence at today's level is unfounded. If our numbers continue to rise, our standard of living will fall so sharply that by the year 2000 any surviving Americans might consider today's average Asian to be well off. Our children's destructive effects on their environment will decline as they sink ever lower into poverty.

The United States is in serious economic trouble now. Nothing could be more misleading than today's affluence, which rests precariously on a crumbling foundation. Our productivity, which had been increasing steadily at about 3.2 percent a year since World War II, has been falling during 1969. Our export over import balance has been shrinking steadily from $7.1 billion in 1964 to $0.15 billion in the first half of 1969. Our balance of payments deficit for the second quarter was $3.7 billion, the largest in history. We are now importing iron ore, steel, oil, beef, textiles, cameras, radios and hundreds of other things.

Our economy is based upon the Keynesian concept of a continued growth in population and productivity. It worked in an underpopulated nation with excess resources. It could continue to work only if the earth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and its resources were expanding at an annual rate of 4 to 5 percent. Yet neither the number of cars, the economy, the human population, nor anything else can expand indefinitely at an exponential rate in a finite world. We must face this fact *now*. The crisis is here. When Walter Heller says that our economy will expand by 4 percent annually through the latter 1970s he is dreaming. He is in a theoretical world totally unaware of the realities of human ecology. If the economists do not wake up and devise a new system for us now somebody else will have to do it for them.

A civilization is comparable to a living organism. Its longevity is a function of its metabolism. The higher the metabolism (affluence), the shorter the life. Keynesian economics has allowed us an affluent but shortened life span. We have now run our course.

The tragedy facing the United States is even greater and more imminent than that descending upon the hungry nations. The Paddock brothers in their book, *Famine 1975!*, say that India "cannot be saved" no matter how much food we ship her. But India will be here after the United States is gone. Many millions will die in the most colossal famines India has ever known, but the land will survive and she will come back as she always has before. The United States, on the other hand, will be a desolate tangle of concrete and ticky-tacky, of strip-mined moonscape and silt-choked reservoirs. The land and water will be so contaminated with pesticides, herbicides, mercury fungicides, lead, boron, nickel, arsenic and hundreds of other toxic substances, which have been approaching critical levels of concentration in our environment as a result of our numbers and affluence, that it may be unable to sustain human life.

Thus as the curtain gets ready to fall on man's civilization let it come as no surprise that it shall first fall on the United States. And let no one make the mistake of thinking we can save ourselves by "cleaning up the environment." Banning DDT is the equivalent of the physician's treating syphilis by putting a bandaid over the first chancre to appear. In either case you can be sure that more serious and widespread trouble will soon appear unless the disease itself is treated. We cannot survive by planning to treat the symptoms such as air pollution, water pollution, soil erosion, etc.

What can we do to slow the rate of destruction of the United States as a land capable of supporting human life? There are two approaches. First, we must reverse the population growth. We have far more people now than we can continue to support at anything near today's level of affluence. American women average slightly over three children each. According to the *Population Bulletin* if we reduced this number to 2.5 there would still be 330 million people in the nation at the end of the century. And even if we reduced this to 1.5 we would have 57 million more people in the year 2000 than we have now. With our present longevity patterns it would take more than 30 years for the population to peak even when reproducing at this rate, which would eventually give us a net decrease in numbers.

Do not make the mistake of thinking that technology will solve our population problem by producing a better contraceptive. Our problem now is that people want too many children. Surveys show the average number of children wanted by the American family is 3.3. There is little difference between the poor and the wealthy, black and white, Catholic and Protestant. Production of children at this rate during the next 30 years would be so catastrophic in effect on our resources and the viability of the nation as to be beyond my ability to contemplate. To prevent this trend we must not only make contraceptives and abortion readily available to everyone, but we must establish a system to put severe economic pressure on those who produce children and reward those who do not. This can be done within our system of taxes and welfare.

The other thing we must do is to pare down our Indian equivalents. Individuals in American society vary tremendously in Indian equivalents. If we plot Indian equivalents versus their reciprocal, the percentage of land surviving a generation, we obtain a linear regression. We can then place individuals and occupation types on this graph. At one end would be the starving blacks of Mississippi; they would approach unity in Indian equivalents, and would have the least destructive effect on the land. At the other end of the graph would be the politicians slicing pork for the barrel, the highway contractors, strip-mine operators, real estate developers, and public enemy number one – the US Army Corps of Engineers.

We must halt land destruction. We must abandon the view of land and minerals as private property to be exploited in any way economically feasible for private financial gain. Land and minerals are resources upon which the very survival of the nation depends, and their use must be planned in the best interests of the people.

Rising expectations for the poor is a cruel joke foisted upon them by the Establishment. As our new economy of use-it-once-and-throw-it-away produces more and more products for the affluent, the share of our resources available for the poor declines. Blessed be the starving blacks of Mississippi with their outdoor privies, for they are ecologically sound, and they shall inherit a nation. Although I hope that we will help these unfortunate people attain a decent standard of living by diverting war efforts to fertility control and job training, our most urgent task to assure this nation's survival during the next decade is to stop the affluent destroyers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Military Coup or Popular Front?

Italy between Governments

by Roy Meachum

Rome

Italy has lacked even the semblance of a stable government since July, and there could be Communists in the government – or a military coup as in Greece – before elections.

In December, a bomb planted by anarchists – or somebody – killed 14 people in a Milan bank, and a fresh strike of all public transport, government workers and postal and telecommunications systems brought the country to a halt.

Last July the Socialist party fell apart in the outraged popular indignation caused by drastic price jumps; in a single week the cost of electricity and cigarettes increased 25 percent and tobacco and newspapers went up 15 percent. The breaking up of the Socialists into meaningless factions killed the famous "opening to the left" coalition that had enabled the Christian Democrats to hold onto power for the past eight years. Since summer, Premier Mariano Rumor and his party have been attempting to go it alone with almost disastrous results.

While the auto-clogged streets of Rome and other major cities would indicate that some of the post-war economic miracle, Italian style, has been spread around, the gap between real income and living costs is driving many a family up the wall – or literally out in the streets. In a nation where the average household income is $5856, beef and veal cost about $2.50 a pound. Rents can absorb 40 percent of a worker's pay, when there is something to rent. In the industrial centers of Milan and Turin, the parks at night are sleeping quarters for many factory hands, recently arrived from the impoverished south. Last month's general strike – the third this year – was the most visible and certainly most impressive expression of the voters' discontent.

Called ostensibly over the housing situation, the day-long walkout shut this city up tighter than a western ghost town. The main thoroughfares were virtually deserted. Rome's thousands of small shops and restaurants kept their shutters pulled down. One tobacco store that braved the strike call and opened for business had its windows smashed in by bricks. No one could recall any general strike that was as nearly successful. The principal credit went to the Communist CGIL labor syndicate, although both the Catholic CISL and the Social Democrat UIL also joined in calling for the protest. But to say the general strike was about housing is to define Thanksgiving as a day to eat turkey.

All autumn long, during the best weather in 45 years, this non-country (as Dean Acheson describes it) had been tattered by strike after strike. Contracts covering four million workers expired in the fall, and in each instance there had been some form of a walk-out. The contagion of labor unrest spread to senior employees of the foreign ministry and autobus drivers who held their respective days of protest. Post offices were closed for the better part of a week, causing an estimated 100 million pieces of mail to back up in the postal system. The letter carriers want the government to hire more than 70,000 additional people.

Few of these strikes are readily explainable in terms of the American labor experience, except in the heavily industrialized North. Milan in 1969 had the kind of autumn reminiscent of the 1930s in Detroit. With probably the most phenomenal growth and profit pattern of any corporation in the world-wide industry, the management of Fiat has been reluctant to make real concessions on wages, fringe benefits or working conditions; its workers are among the lowest paid in the world. There have been bloody encounters between strikers and police. The worst incident of the general strike occurred in Milan when a peaceful demonstration was turned into a full-scale donnybrook, killing one policeman and injuring 62 others.

The trouble began when a group of youthful Maoist-Communists tried to horn in on the demonstration. The workers wanted no part of the youthful radicals and tried to shove them out. A pushing, scuffling, punching contest turned serious when the police began driving their jeeps into the crowd and lashing about with their clubs. The dead officer was one of the jeep drivers.

It's been a hard fall and winter for the Milan cops. Reportedly, the night before the general strike there had been protest meetings in the police barracks with debates about whether they would go out on the line the next morning.

Furthermore, the night after the strike the general commanding police ordered the use of tear gas against his own men. A group who had been assigned to another town for the day were so angry that they grabbed their automatic weapons and wanted to shoot

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up Milan. Only the tear gas inside their barracks and a strong force of carabinieri stopped them.

The small town of Fondi lost its city hall that day – burned up in a battle between the Maoisti and the regular Communists. Turin, Venice, Bari, Catania reported clashes between extremists and police, but nothing serious.

Underlying the general strike and most of Italy's other problems is widespread dissatisfaction with the government. "They do nothing, they do nothing," is the usual comment about the Christian Democrats. It would be more accurate to say, "they do little until pushed." For example, on the matter of inadequate housing and high rents, the Rumor cabinet pushed through a $110-million appropriation the day before the general strike. The following day it was learned that more than $1 billion was already available in unallotted funds in two government agencies that could have put the money into building low-cost housing. Two days after the strike, the Senate rushed through a rent-control law. None of the cause-effect relationship between the protest demonstration and government action is lost on the Italians, who appear to respect Mariano Rumor less for responding so transparently to the pressures of the successful strike.

Added to this basic lack of confidence is the widely held opinion that dishonesty is rampant among the bureaucrats. A Catholic cardinal, recently returned to Rome after several years in the United States, spent considerable time in a lengthy interview discussing examples of corruption: "When people believe that with enough money in the right hands, they can live outside the law, then we have no law," he said.

When his landlord gave a waiter I know a hard time last year and threatened to throw him out, the waiter tried first to get assistance from the proper government office; failing there, he turned to the local Communist party. Applying direct words and the threat of possible action, a Red case worker succeeded in winning the waiter's case. When the grateful man attempted to slip the Communist some money, it was turned aside. The waiter is a registered Christian Democrat, but if general elections were held tomorrow his words leave no doubt as to how he would vote. "At least the Communists are honest," he said. His story in one form or another is repeated over and over again; in one instance, an aging aristocrat had the remnants of his estate saved from an overzealous tax-collector by the intervention of his local Communist leaders.

Considering the events of the 18 months since the last elections, Rumor would risk the real possibility of a Red victory if he were to call for new general voting now; everybody agrees on that. With somewhere between 800,000 and one million registered party members, the Communist Party of Italy received 8.5 million votes in last year's balloting; the Christian Democrats got 13 million.

With the death of the Socialists as a political reality, the only choice is between the CD and the CPI. On the far left, nobody takes the Maoisti seriously except the Maoisti. The neo-Fascists and monarchists exist only as a right-wing fringe, generally ignored and the proper subjects for satirical cartoons in magazines.

Of course, Rumor could invite the Communists to replace the Socialists in a new coalition. When last summer's crisis exploded, the Communists did ask that they be included in the cabinet. A CD spokesman turned down their request with something amounting to scornful laughter. Nobody's laughing now, unless it is the Communists.

The largest Communist party in Western Europe has never been so close to getting control. Starting as hard-line Stalinists, they have shifted over the years to accommodate their party and its platform more to the mood of the people. The 1956 Hungarian uprising and its subsequent bloody repression marked their first major break with Moscow. When the Italians joined in the world-wide indignation over Czechoslovakia last year, the CPI sent an important official all the way to Russia to tell the Soviets to pull out of Prague. The man was received politely, his words were ignored.

Throwing in with the Christian Democrats at this stage of the national crisis could cost the Communists some of their hard-won popularity. Some of the blame for future failures by the government would attach to them. But staying out of the cabinet could leave them open to charges that they are "spoilers" only, not really interested in helping their country. If asked to come into the government, they'll probably agree – but at a price.

The first plank of their current party platform is to give Italy an honest regime. In Bologna they've shown they can. It's anybody's guess how they would cope with the hopeless morass of the national bureaucracy. Obviously they would have to institute wholesale reorganization and housecleaning, efforts certain to be resisted by government employees; more strikes would probably result. In a partnership with the Christian Democrats and lacking full power, the Communists might content themselves with insisting upon some general reforms.

The Communists also want: "Italy out of NATO and NATO out of Italy." Here they could have better luck. The impact on the national economy of ousting NATO would be minimal. The total of all the alliance's installations in this country is relatively insignificant, except perhaps in the Naples area. There would be no wholesale dislocation of angry workers; those affected could be found other jobs.

Only the military could be expected to fight the

ROY MEACHUM *is a broadcaster and foreign correspondent who covers Europe.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

removal of NATO; they would be the only real losers in Italy. With something like only 300 authorized slots for generals, the army has over 500 officers of that rank, none of whom appears anxious to retire. If the Communists get access to power, they would certainly want to trim back on the brass hats. Getting rid of NATO would eliminate some, but not all the excess jobs for high-ranking officers. Some further reductions would be called for. The generals know this.

During November, in two different weeks, there were reports of Italian general officers meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland. Swiss officers reluctantly admitted that "some of our Italian colleagues are here for conferences." They did not say why. The last attempted *coup d'état* in Italy in 1964 was a comic opera affair involving the chief officers of the carabinieri, the national military police who function as a specal army unto themselves. The carabinieri have the best discipline, morale and uniforms of any element of the Italian military. Being all volunteers, the amount of Communist infiltration is regarded as almost nonexistent. They would probably be the major element of any attempted coup. But in 1964, they were given no chance. The carabinieri commanding general at the time, V. di Lorenzo, sent out the letters with arrest lists weeks in advance of the planned D-Day. While all envelopes to his subordinate officers were marked: "Do Not Open Until Ordered," Italian curiosity got the better of military discipline. The plot was blown well before its target date and di Lorenzo and most of his fellow plotters were removed from their posts. By now meeting in Switzerland, the generals minimize the risk of leaks. Speculation is they're getting advice from the Greek officers running the junta in Athens. If they are planning a coup, the Italian military may hold back until Premier Rumor takes his first step to bring the Communists into the cabinet.

In addition to the possibilities already named, there is another road this unhappy country could take. One Italian said: "Our problem is Rumor is weak. And so are the other politicians. What we need is a strong man to straighten out the mess." Another Duce? "Not like that," the man said, throwing up his hands to push away the question. "But someone strong enough to come in and bump heads to get this country back in order."

Deliberate Destruction of the Environment

What Have We Done to Vietnam?

by Robert E. Cook, William Haseltine and Arthur W. Galston

President Nixon has proposed to call a halt to all biological warfare research and stockpiling operations in the United States, and to submit the Geneva Protocol to Congress for ratification. While these are commendable moves, the government is excluding from his ban the use of defoliants, herbicides, and antipersonnel gases in Vietnam. That is tragic, for these weapons respect neither the neutrality of the fertile farms nor the innocence of undefended civilians. The destruction in Vietnam is heightened because Allied forces, for the first time since World War I, have employed massive quantities of chemicals against the enemy: villages have been leveled with napalm; caves and bunkers have been saturated with tear gas to drive protected soldiers into open fire; crops have been destroyed and jungles defoliated to deny the enemy food and cover. It is the civilians who bear the major burden of this assault. Since there are no concrete enemy strongholds or fixed battlelines, battles arise whenever contact is made between US and South Vietnamese forces and the fluid enemy, who primary tactic is mobility.

Since 1962 huge C-123 cargo planes, equipped with tanks and high pressure spray nozzles, have released more than 100 million pounds of chemical herbicides over more than 4 million acres, an area larger than the state of Massachusetts. This includes more than 500,000 acres of croplands growing rice, manioc, beans and other vegetables. To decrease the number of flights necessary over enemy fire, the chemicals are sprayed in concentrations up to ten times those recommended for use in the United States. This spreads nearly 30

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pounds of herbicide over each acre of land.

The Air Force has been spraying four different chemical compounds in varying combinations colorfully known as agents *Orange*, *Blue*, and *White*. *Orange* consists of equal parts of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T, general weed killers used extensively in the United States. *Orange* usually persists for only one or two weeks in ground water or soil, but its disappearance depends upon microorganisms requiring specific conditions, including abundant oxygen. Thus, high concentrations could build up in stagnant water or poorly aerated ground. Agent *Blue* consists primarily of cacodylic acid which contains 54 percent arsenic. Its use against crops is forbidden in the United States, but it has been so used in Vietnam. Agent *White* is a blend of 2,4-D and picloram, the latter being an unusually persistent herbicide which is capable of killing vegetation and retarding regeneration for years.

These herbicides are a product of agricultural research done during the thirties and forties, when a number of hormone-like substances were identified in plants and brought to the attention of the Army for potential use in the control of plant cover and crop production. Research was undertaken at Fort Detrick, the home of chemical-biological warfare research, to develop the new compounds. After the war, direct toxicity levels for man and animals were investigated and determined to be low enough to make the chemicals acceptable for general use as weed killers. The US Department of Agriculture, the Federal Drug Administration, the National Institutes of Health, and the Fish and Wildlife Service all had a hand in sanctioning the widespread use of herbicides. By 1965, more than 120 million acres were being sprayed each year in the United States. Despite this wide usage, no studies had been conducted until very recently by any government agency on the possible carcinogenic, mutagenic, or teratogenic properties of herbicides, or on the ecological consequences of their use.

Many botanists and ecologists decried the ecological destruction which is an unavoidable consequence of the defoliation and crop denial program in Vietnam. They stressed repeatedly the extent of our ignorance concerning the consequences flowing from the introduction of massive amounts of chemicals into a complex tropical ecology. They warned of the possibility of soil erosion and laterization (an irreversible conversion to rock), the destruction of understory saplings and seedlings, the upheaval of insect, bird and small mammal populations, and of the effects these changes have on normal agriculture and the spread of disease.

ROBERT E. COOK *is a graduate student in ecology at Yale,* WILLIAM HASELTINE *a graduate student in biophysics at Harvard, and* ARTHUR W. GALSTON *is professor of biology at Yale.*

They deplored the use of herbicides to kill food crops because those who suffer the effects of starvation are mainly pregnant and lactating women, children under five, the sick and the aged.

With the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962, the public became aware of the extent of chemical intrusion into the ecosystem and its possible adverse effect upon the flora and fauna of the world. It was in the same year that the massive use of herbicides in Vietnam began and expanded from an initial 4900 acres sprayed in 1962 to more than a million sprayed acres in 1967. The alarm of civilian scientists in the United States found some expression at the annual meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The council of this large, heterogeneous organization for long skirted the hot issue of the Vietnam war and adopted instead a resolution bearing on the relationship of herbicides to the environment. Until last week, attempts to broach the thorny issue of military herbicides proved fruitless because of the diffuse expression of views by the board of directors. Nonetheless, questions directed by the AAAS to the Department of Defense resulted in a study, sponsored by the Pentagon, of the literature dealing with the possible ecological effects of the massive use of herbicides. At about the same time, another government agency initiated long-delayed tests into the toxicity of some of the herbicides to laboratory animals, and by inference, to man.

In 1966 the National Cancer Institute commissioned a series of studies to evaluate the carcinogenic, teratogenic and mutagenic activity of selected insecticides, herbicides, fungicides and industrial chemicals. As part of this research, the chemicals were given to pregnant rats and mice at different dose levels and by subcutaneous and oral routes to study their potential interference with normal developmental processes, an action which has become known at teratogenesis. Late last month copies of the long classified study became available.

The Institute's tests revealed that two of the herbicides examined had caused gross abnormalities and birth defects in mice. 2,4-D was termed "potentially dangerous, but needing further study" while 2,4,5-T was labeled "probably dangerous." Further tests with 2,4,5,-T on rats confirmed its teratogenic effect; up to 100 percent of the litters fed varying doses of 2,4,5,-T in honey had excessive fetal mortality and a high incidence of serious developmental abnormalities in the survivors. Female rats that were fed doses as low as 4.6 milligrams per kilogram of body weight (equivalent to about 1/100 of an ounce for an average woman) bore three times as many abnormal fetuses as control rats. The study concluded that "it seems inescapable that 2,4,5-T is teratogenic."

The implications of these findings for Vietnam are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

obvious. In rural areas of the countryside where the spraying is most intense, drinking and cooking water is often taken directly from rain-fed cisterns and ponds, sources readily contaminated by chemicals sprayed from low flying aircraft. If 30 pounds of agent *Orange* are sprayed per acre, roughly 15 pounds of 2,4,5-T are released. If one assumes a one-inch rainfall after such a spraying, and the use of three liters of water a day for drinking and cooking by a Vietnamese woman, one can calculate that a dose of 2,4,5-T equivalent to 4.5 mg/kg body weight may be consumed. This is exactly the lowest dose which produced measurable effects in rats in the National Cancer Institute study. To make matters worse, it is not known whether humans are more sensitive to the teratogenic actions than rats.

Within the last year there have been a number of reports in Vietnamese newspapers about an increase in birth abnormalities. Viet Bang, a South Vietnamese journalist writing for the Buddhist newspaper *Chanh Dao* has stated that the doctors in two main maternity hospitals (Tu Doc Hospital in Saigon and Hung Vuong Hospital in Cholon) are under orders to send all their files on miscarriages and malformed babies to the Ministry of Health, after which the files are no longer seen. The US response to these findings was conservative. The White House Science Advisor, Dr. Lee DuBridge, announced that, "a coordinated series of actions are being taken by the agencies of government" to limit the use of 2,4,5-T. He stated that the Agriculture Department would cancel registration of 2,4,5-T for use on food crops in the United States by January, 1970, unless the Food and Drug Administration found a basis for establishing a safe legal tolerance. Such caution at home was not paralleled by similar caution abroad. In the same statement, DuBridge announced that the Defense Department will not stop the use of 2,4,5-T in Vietnam but will restrict its use to areas remote from populations. The Pentagon has interpreted this as a sanction of its present policy; no change whatever will be made in the Army's policy governing the military use of 2,4,5-T.

"There's a tough bunch. Under the VC they survived liberation, orientation, and taxation. From us they took defoliation, interrogation, and pacification."

The possibility that teratogenic doses could have been ingested in this country is discounted by the government. DuBridge has said, "it seems improbable that any person could receive harmful amounts of this chemical from any of the existing uses of 2,4,5-T, and while the relationships of these effects in laboratory animals to effects in man are not entirely clear at this time, the actions taken will assure safety of the public while further evidence is sought." Yet 2,4,5-T is sprayed primarily along powerlines and pipelines, and secondarily upon croplands. Biodegradation in the soil is very dependent upon the particular conditions at the site of spraying, and possibilities of accidental drift are high. Congressman Richard D. McCarthy (D, N.Y.) recently stated, "I find it difficult to understand how a complete ban on use of this defoliant in the United States can be postponed until January and how the Department of Defense can continue to use this defoliant after learning the results of the tests." Part of the answer to the congressman's difficulty may lie in the fact that 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T production contributes over $35 million annually to the herbicide industry.

The implications of the 2,4,5-T case, the government reaction and the entire defoliation program are profound. First, 2,4,5-T represents a chemical developed from scientific technology in the forties which has been massively applied to the human environment for 20 years before proper research into its potential harmfulness to humans was conducted; it may represent an ecological equivalent of thalidomide. How many more chemicals have been spawned by technology and spread throughout the human ecosystem without adequate testing? Neither picloram nor cacodylic acid were examined by the National Cancer Institute study; yet the recent Midwest Research Institute report on herbicides in Vietnam indicated a number of references in the literature that suggested some teratogenic activity in cacodylic acid.

Secondly we have failed to consider the long-term

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hazards from the intrusion of chemicals into a system that has evolved its intricate arrangement for many millions of years. The complex ecology of a tropical region is much like the interdependence of a pyramid of toy blocks; the removal of one element upsets all the others. It has been assumed that if a chemical can be introduced without immediate detrimental effects, then its application can be doubled or tripled without worry. Yet very recently, in the case of DDT, we have seen how biological systems tend to accumulate chemicals over long periods of time. After 20 years of spraying, the hormonal effects of DDT are causing serious disruption in the reproductive cycles of many birds, and the end of its effects cannot be seen.

Finally, in Vietnam, we can detect the beginnings of a new military tactic in limited warfare. No longer is scientific technology used only to kill the enemy; chemicals are also employed to destroy the ecology that supports him. This environmental warfare has been conducted without any broad examination of the question whether any cause can legally or morally justify the deliberate destruction of the environment of one nation by another. The United States must begin to grasp the concept that belligerents in hostilities share a responsibility for preserving the potential productivity of the area of conflict. Otherwise, our technology may convert even the most fertile area to a desert, with lasting consequences to all mankind.

A Conspiracy by Whom, against Whom?

Black Panther Killings In Chicago

by Christopher Chandler

It was 4:44 A.M. on the morning of December 4. The block on Chicago's West Side was cordoned off. Police stood guard on rooftops. State's Attorney's police were stationed at the front and rear of the first floor apartment, armed with a submachine gun and shotguns.

There was a knock on the front door, and then the sound of more than 200 shots echoed through the early morning hour. When it was over, Fred Hampton, chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, was dead in bed. Mark Clark, a Panther member from Peoria, Ill., was dead behind the front door. Four others were critically wounded, and three were arrested unharmed. One policeman was slightly wounded.

MR. CHANDLER *is senior editor of the* Chicago Journalism Review.

State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan held a press conference later that day, displaying what he said was the arms cache recovered from the apartment (each bullet carefully placed on its end) and pronounced to the television cameras: "We wholeheartedly commend the police officers for their bravery, their remarkable restraint and their discipline in the face of this Black Panther attack – as should every decent citizen in our community." He stressed the word "decent."

Under normal circumstances, that would have been the end of it. Hanrahan, the key figure in Mayor Daley's 1968 election strategy, the man named to run the city's "war on gangs" last June, would ordinarily have enhanced his reputation as a tough crime fighter and as the most popular Democratic vote-getter.

But these are not normal times. The story did not end with that press conference, but grew into an inter-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

national scandal. The glare of publicity that focused on every aspect of that eight-minute raid illuminated the workings of Chicago's law enforcement machinery and we glimpsed momentarily, as by a flash of lightning, the face of repression.

The story would not die, in part because of the stark imagery of the early morning raid by heavily armed police. "For those of us alive in the late '30s," said Professor Hans Mattick of the University of Chicago, "this brought back one of those nightmare images – the knock on the door at night, the Jews intimidated and dragged away."

It would not die because the Black Panther Party opened up the apartment at 2337 W. Monroe Street for the world to see, and the evidence was inescapable: police had massed a heavy concentration of machine-gun and shotgun fire at one living room wall and into two bedrooms. There was little if any sign of return fire.

It would not die because Hanrahan, distressed by what he said were the "outrageous" and "slanderous" statements made to the press, decided to try his case in the *Chicago Tribune*. But evidence provided to substantiate his account of the raid turned out to be fraudulent, and the competing newspapers jumped at the chance to recover some honor by exposing the fraud. A picture purporting to show bullet holes where the Panthers shot at police in the kitchen turned out to be a picture of nail holes, and the bullet-ridden "bathroom" door turned out to be the inside of the bedroom door.

It would not die because the coroner's office misrepresented Hampton's fatal wounds, because Hanrahan would not permit the FBI to interrogate his men in private. It developed that the FBI was involved, having been wiretapping and tailing the Panthers, and that the Justice Department itself had set up a special task force on the Black Panthers last August, a task force aimed at countering the threat to national security.

Events had shaken the country's trust in the social order. Calls for a thorough and impartial investigation intensified to the point that there are now some eight bodies planning such a probe. But there is little prospect that findings of the investigations will convince any large spectrum of the population.

The Panther Party would not have it otherwise. They are not interested in the findings of a "blue ribbon committee" or a "grand jury investigation" designed, in the words of one newspaper editorial, to "restore confidence" in government, or, in the words of Attorney General John Mitchell, to "put an end to rumors and speculation that surrounded this incident." The Panthers' belief is that to restore confidence and end speculation is to mask the exposed face of a growing fascism. Last month's Chicago raid has given the party widespread new support for its viewpoint.

Fred Hampton said last June: "I just went to a wake where a young man had been shot in the head by a pig. And you know this is bad. But it heightens the contradictions in the community. These things a lot of times organize the people better than we can organize ourselves."

All of the investigations of the raid will be forced to sift through a mass of conflicting testimony. The police version, reenacted for CBS television in a special 28-minute program directed by the State's Attorney's office, must be rejected on the basis of the available evidence. One policeman in the reenactment, for example, describes three shots being fired at him as he enters the kitchen door, the film having been taped before those three bullet holes had been shown to be nail holes.

The Panther version may never come to light in its entirety. Defense attorneys for the seven surviving Panthers (charged with attempted murder) plan to retain their best evidence until the trial, and they may be in a powerful bargaining position to have the charges dropped. Panther officers have generally confined themselves to characterizing the raid as a "political assassination" and denying that any Panthers fired at police.

The hard physical evidence is sparse, but heavily weighted toward the worst possible construction of the raid.

► There are two bullet holes in the front door leading from a small anteroom into the living room. One is about heart high, and was fired through the door from the outside while the door was slightly ajar. This shot probably killed Mark Clark, whose body was found in a pool of blood behind the door. A second hole in the door, about a foot and a half below the first, may have been made by a shotgun blast from the inside of the apartment into a far corner of the anteroom near the ceiling. The crazy angle of the blast suggests that Clark's gun may have gone off as he fell.

► The right-hand side of the living room wall is covered with 42 closely stitched bullet holes, mainly from a machine gun. The shots were fired from the doorway and from the center of the living room, the

COMING: Three articles by Fred Anderson on the growing pains of medical care

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shots from the center of the room penetrating the walls of two adjacent bedrooms.

► The back door was forced from the outside. Two rear windows, in the kitchen and in Hampton's rear bedroom, were broken in from the outside. There is no sign of gunfire in the rear of the house except for the bedrooms, which are punctured with bullet holes. Standing in the entranceway between the kitchen and the dining room, you can see that four shotgun blasts were fired from that area, three into Hampton's bedroom and one, penetrating two closets, lodging in the far wall of the middle bedroom.

► Hampton was shot from above while lying in bed. According to an independent autopsy conducted by the former chief pathologist for the County Coroner's office and witnessed by three physicians, two bullets entered Hampton's head from the right and from above, at a 45 degree angle.

Whatever happened in that apartment on the morning of December 4, it could not possibly have been the 20-minute "gun battle" that the police and the State's Attorney's office have described again and again. Clearly the State's Attorney's police went to the apartment heavily armed to do more than serve a search warrant for unauthorized and unregistered guns (a minor offense). But why now? Why the Panthers?

The answer furnished by many columnists and commentators – that the Panthers were an unpopular, probably dangerous group, and therefore the authorities may have overstepped the bounds of propriety in curbing their activities – does not hold up.

The Panthers were and are a popular, successful group, and it is precisely because of that success that they have become the targets of a nationwide governmental campaign of control. This fact presents us with a far more serious issue of national policy. Theoretically we believe that any organization (and particularly any political organization) is entitled to win as much popular support as its platform and leadership permit. Surely this is the democratic way. But we make exceptions to that rule, particularly during periodic "red scares." Then, any group associated with an "international Communist conspiracy" or, in the words of the *Chicago Tribune*, a "criminal conspiracy" are denied that basic right.

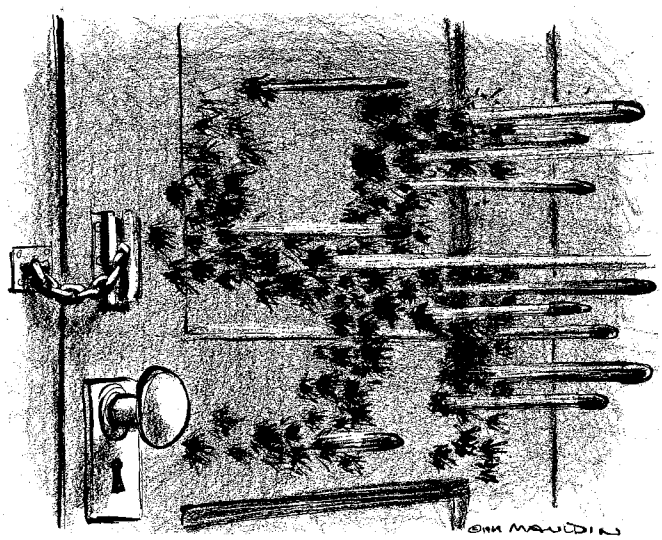
So, with the rapid spread of Black Panther Party chapters across the country in the past two years, and with the intellectual leadership that has made the Panther Party the ideological leader of most of the white radical left, and with the surprising organizational strength in cities from Hartford, Connecticut, to Peoria, Illinois, came increased governmental attention.

When Mitchell took office last January, *The New York Times* relates, he officially labeled the Black Panther Party a subversive threat to the national security – thereby authorizing the FBI to tap Panther phones and bug Panther offices. In July, J. Edgar Hoover gave the Panther Party the distinction of being "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country" among black militant groups. In August, the Justice Department took the extraordinary step of setting up a special task force on the Panthers, made up of representatives from its civil rights, internal security and criminal divisions.

The situation was similar at the local level. The Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party was founded in November of 1968 by Hampton and by Bobby Rush, the current chairman. Six months later, the Panthers had become the strongest organization in Chicago's black community. Its influence extended beyond the ghetto to alliances with a variety of groups including the national office of the Students for a Democratic Society, an Appalachian white youth gang called the Young Patriots and a Puerto Rican gang called the Young Lords.

The Panthers were respected because they spoke of carrying arms for self-defense (although they never publicly bore arms in the city), because they had a coherent socialist ideology and because they had a genius for organizing and administration. In the March special aldermanic election they aided an independent candidate by stationing members outside of precincts where there were complaints of vote fraud. The candidate almost forced a runoff in one of the Democratic Party strongholds. In April, a party spokesman lambasted 5000 peace marchers for not checking with the Panthers before conducting the march, and the march's leadership admitted its error. In May, they concluded an agreement with the Black P Stone Nation, Chicago's most powerful teen gang, after having converted its traditional rivals, the East Side Disciples, to full Panther membership.

Days later, Mayor Daley announced that the city was launching a "war on gangs," which would be



Courtesy the *Chicago Journalism Review*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

headed by State's Attorney Hanrahan. Hanrahan listed the Panthers as prime targets in his campaign, and talked about soaring gang violence (although a study conducted by the *Chicago Journalism Review* revealed that gang-related youth crime had actually declined during the year).

Fred Hampton soon had 25 criminal charges filed against him, but only one conviction – the somewhat strange case of assault in connection with the robbery of $71 worth of ice cream. (Hampton commented: "I may be a big dude, but I can't eat no $71 worth of ice cream.")

Despite the constant arrests and the repeated raids on their headquarters the Black Panther Party continued to grow in strength. Favorable articles about the party's free breakfast program for schoolchildren were carried in three of the city's five daily newspapers, embarrassing city officials into launching their own, hopelessly bureaucratic free breakfast program. Plans were announced, funds raised and equipment procured for a free medical clinic, to be opened on the West Side. By October, Chicago newspapers did not find it unusual to quote Hampton's reaction to the "Weatherman" demonstration scheduled for downtown Chicago: he denounced them as "anarchistic" and "Custeristic."

On November 4, the Black Panther Party, somewhat weakened by arrests and raids, was still the most powerful single independent organization in the city. Its program of putting socialism into practice had attracted wide support. Its policy of analyzing problems by reference to economic class, not race, was working to depolarize whites and blacks during demonstrations, and erroneous descriptions of the members as "racists" or "black power militants" in the local press were beginning to be corrected.

The Black Panthers made the federal subversive list, they became a prime target for Chicago officialdom because of their success. I don't suggest that Mayor Daley cynically set out to destroy the party because it might bring success to his enemies at the polls – or that the Justice Department set out to crush the party nationally because it wanted to protect the country's big businesses against socialism.

Mitchell and Hoover see the Panthers as an arm of an International Communist conspiracy (has not Panther information minister Eldridge Cleaver visited Cuba and Algeria while in exile – even lavishing his highest praise on the North Korean government?).

Mayor Daley views the Panthers as much of the rest of the population views them – as "Communists"; and worse still, young black Communists who carry arms. (The Panthers are not reticent to express their views: they will explain patiently at a press conference that their political ideology is based on Marx and Lenin, and that they look to other revolutionary leaders, including Mao Tse-tung, for examples of how to translate ideology into political power.)

Policemen all over the country see the Panthers as their explicit enemies. The Panthers called the police "pigs," and even talk of killing pigs. (To the Panthers, "pig" means most importantly the "pig power structure," and secondarily the "pig police" who enforce the will of that power structure on the country's black colonies.)

There is a "conspiracy" to get the Panthers, and it is a conspiracy tied together by the mutual convictions of policemen, local government and federal government. It is a conspiracy that puts the country's professed ideals to a hard test. Are we prepared to allow revolutionary Marxists – Leninists to campaign for public support and public office? Theoretically we are. Theoretically (at least according to a June 9, Supreme Court decision) we also cannot convict someone for merely advocating the moral propriety or necessity of using violence to overthrow the government.

But in practice we are not prepared to view the Black Panthers as a political party. One might argue that the Panthers should disarm if they are serious about politics and about only using their weapons for self-defense. The bearing of arms may be a fetish carried over from the formation of the party in Oakland in 1966, when it was called the "Black Panther Party for Self Defense," and when its primary goal was to defend blacks from police harassment. Undoubtedly, the very existence of arms does much to provoke the police. But there are problems with this argument: there is nothing illegal about carrying arms; that right is protected by the US Constitution. Twenty Panthers have died in gun battles with police around the country (although police have died also – two in Chicago just two weeks before the raid). The Hampton killing itself raises the grim possibility that the Panthers, even today in Chicago, *do* need guns for self-defense.

The State's Attorney's raid suggested another disturbing view – that this country is moving steadily toward the extreme political right. The proposed investigations of the raid provide an example of the extent of that shift. The FBI investigating? But the FBI has been involved in nationwide raids against the Panthers. The Justice Department? Attorney General Mitchell's approach to law enforcement is not reassuring.

The main investigation is to be conducted by a special US District Court grand jury in Chicago. A seven-man racially integrated team of federal investigators, headed by Assistant Attorney General Jerris Leonard, will present the evidence to the jury. Leonard, head of the civil rights division, last May explained to Jay Miller, the executive director of Illinois American Civil Liberties Union, why Bobby Seale had been included among the Chicago Conspiracy trial defendants. "The Panthers are a bunch of hoodlums," he said. "We've got to get them."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Robert Evett: The Marriage of Craft and Art

Retrospectives and Conclusions by Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft

(Knopf; $7.95)

In the spring of 1948, the conductor Robert Craft was preparing a performance of Stravinsky's *Symphonies for Wind Instruments,* and paid a call on the composer and his wife at their Washington hotel. Craft was 24, Stravinsky 65. Some kind of alchemical bond was formed – Craft calls it "The Marriage of Craft and Art" – and within the next few months, Craft moved in with the Stravinskys. He has lived with them ever since.

In the years following their meeting, there has been a good deal of speculation about how large an influence Craft has had on Stravinsky. In the fifties, Stravinsky made a radical break with his own tradition; he not only gave aid and comfort to the enemy, he became one of them, leaving his own forces in the 20th century musical wars of religion hopelessly confused. His defection, his heresy, was so astonishing that it is almost impossible to believe that he did it all by himself. If the pope had put aside his tiara and vows of celibacy in order to marry, the faithful could not have been more confused than Stravinsky's followers were when he made an entente with the musical legacy of his old arch-enemies, the modern Viennese school. Since Robert Craft was making a name for himself as an interpreter of the Viennese moderns, it would appear that, in the marriage of Stravinsky and Dodecaphony, it was Craft who instructed the postulant in the articles of faith, received him into the church, and officiated at the wedding. In a 1956 diary entry, just published in their new book, Craft says:

> . . . Clearly I am thought of as a plenipotentiary (rather than as a famulus, which is more often the case, or satellite, or jester) as well as a gray eminence who operates I.S. [Igor Stravinsky] and is responsible for shanghaiing him into the '12-tone system' as if anyone could lead *that* horse to water, even if it wanted to go, let alone make it drink.

Perfectly true. At the time this entry was written, many people thought, and said, that Craft, not Stravinsky, was the most powerful figure in contemporary music.

This is what is known: At the time they met in 1948, Stravinsky had not yet finished his opera *The Rake's Progress.* In fact, Craft ran into Auden in the act of delivering a chunk of the libretto on the occasion of that meeting. According to Craft's account, Stravinsky did not complete the work until the summer of 1951, a few weeks after his sixty-ninth birthday. The music is remarkably economical, and represents an extraordinary refinement of the neoclassical style that had engrossed Stravinsky for thirty years. The line from the *Symphony of Psalms* to the *Symphony in C* and the *Symphony in Three Movements* to *The Rake* was clear. In France, the pupils of Olivier Messaien – notably Karlheinz Stockhausen, Pierre Boulez and the critic André Hodeir – were in loud and sometimes rude rebellion against the Stravinskian domination, but Stravinsky himself seems to have been serenely indifferent to the new trends. It is possible that he did not know what they were, or even that they existed. It appeared that, with *The Rake,* he had arrived at his old-man's style, and would keep it for the rest of his life.

Instead, he began flirting with Schoenbergian serialism. The flirtation was a long one, and there was a transitional work, the *Septet* (1953) – a very pretty piece that shows some vacillation in the matter of technique. Then came works like the *Canticum Sacrum* and *Threni,* the ballet *Agon* and the *Movements for Piano and Orchestra* which, in various ways, embraced the principle of note-row composition.

As for Craft, he was corresponding with Schoenberg and meeting him in Los Angeles as early as 1950. Craft organized (and later recorded) performances of *Pierrot lunaire* and other works by Schoenberg and his follow-

Sorry

After the fifth beer,
Milwaukee softens, fine snow
Wafting me back to the hotel
Where the warmth of the lobby
Floats me up to my room.

I'm calling long distance now
To say: it's all right, love, after all;
But am told the number has changed,
Sorry, unlisted;
Well, that sobers Milwaukee.

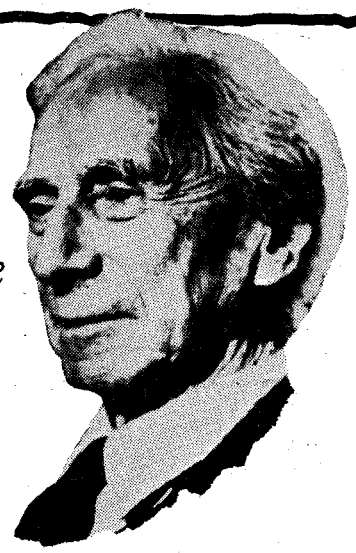
The window looks darkly out on stone,
And I've found another place to lose touch with.
Tomorrow in Boston, I'll call myself here
And they'll just have to say:
He's gone.

Leonard Nathan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUST PUBLISHED

The third and concluding volume in one of the most significant works of our time



THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF

BERTRAND RUSSELL

1944-1969

THIS final volume of Lord Russell's autobiography may have the widest appeal of any. For in it Lord Russell deals not with the distant past, but with struggles and ideas still going on—struggles and ideas that have made him one of the controversial figures of our time.

His account of forming the Who Killed Kennedy Committee and of seeking to bring the United States to trial before an International War Crimes Tribunal for its role in Vietnam have an immediacy and relevancy —especially for the young—that sets this volume apart from its predecessors.

Here is a fitting climax to the record of an incredibly long, utterly fascinating and completely rewarding life.

Other Simon and Schuster books by Bertrand Russell

PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAYS. $3.95, paper $1.75
GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. $3.95
THE PRACTICE AND THEORY OF BOLSHEVISM. $3.95, paper $1.25
PORTRAITS FROM MEMORY. $6.50, paper $1.95
FACT AND FICTION. $4.95 • MY PHILOSOPHICAL DEVELOPMENT. $3.75
WHY I AM NOT A CHRISTIAN. $3.95, paper $1.95
COMMON SENSE AND NUCLEAR WARFARE. Paper $1.00
UNPOPULAR ESSAYS. $3.50, paper $2.95
HUMAN KNOWLEDGE, ITS SCOPE AND LIMITS. $6.95, paper $2.95
A HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY. $7.95, paper $3.75
AMBERLEY PAPERS with Patricia Russell. $12.50
THE BASIC WRITINGS OF BERTRAND RUSSELL
Edited by Robert E. Egner and Lester E. Dennon. Paper $3.45

ILLUSTRATED • $8.95 • SIMON AND SCHUSTER

ers. This could not have been lost on Stravinsky, and though Craft denies pushing the old man, he must have pulled – if ever so gently.

In the subsequent years, the two men have constantly shared the podium to their mutual advantage. As he has grown older and more fragile, Stravinsky has long since passed the point where he could safely commit himself to prepare and conduct a whole concert, and it must have been a comfort to have a Robert Craft who could do so much of the work and whom Stravinsky could trust to do it well. As for Craft, though he is a pretty good conductor, it is impossible that he could have flourished as he has if he were merely his own man. On programs, he is usually billed as Stravinsky's "Associate." Associate what? Or associate in what?

In the six books they have produced together, Stravinsky emerges as a most attractive man, and Craft as a person of considerable charm. The first book, *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (1959) was a slim volume, slim indeed, but it was also a surprise and delight. In it, the focus was on Stravinsky; Craft was a background figure.

As the series has continued, the format has changed. In *Themes and Episodes* (1966) and their new volume, *Retrospectives and Conclusions*, the authors have divided the book roughly in half: first, miscellaneous writings of Stravinsky, then a generous, but not-quite generous enough selection from the diaries of Robert Craft.

The Stravinsky portion is entertaining but predictable. There are some interviews, a piece about Gesualdo, Stravinsky whooping it up for the Beethoven Quartets, Stravinsky dissecting three recordings of *Le Sacre du printemps*, Stravinsky's remarks about Monteverdi. This is all fascinating material and since Stravinsky, though always good with words, has done very little in the way of extended prose composition, it is useful to have these rarities – some from the bottom of the barrel – collected in one place.

The really valuable material is in the Craft diaries. Unfortunately Craft does not seem to realize that he is, himself, a figure of considerable interest and that, by refusing to talk more about himself, he is suppressing at the source a wealth of important information. It is clear from his writing that he enjoys the company of the great and famous, feels honored to drop

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their names, and does not mind being known as side-kick in residence to an eminent man:

March 31, 1948:
Arriving at the Raleigh Hotel for my appointment with Stravinsky this morning, I find Auden pacing the lobby. . . .
February 4, 1949:
New York. Dinner with the Evelyn Waughs. . . .
August 10, 1949:
Hollywood. Lunch at the Farmer's Market with Christopher Isherwood and the Huxleys . . . (Aldous eats quantities of sunflower seeds for his eyes.) Virginia Woolf's likening Isherwood to a jockey is perfect. . . .
August 20, 1951:
Naples. Wystan meets me at the pier, barefoot and "with the bottom of his trousers rolled." . . . Wystan repeats his story about Benjamin Britten liking the opera [*The Rake's Progress*] very much, everything but the music (a story I.S. did not find in the least amusing).
August 21, 1951:
At six A.M., Wystan, discalced in spite of cold flagstones. . . .
September 5, 1951:
Venice. Wystan's tears, exposing so much frustration and wounded pride. . . .
December 27, 1952:
A visit from Wystan, with Edith and Osbert Sitwell. . . .
November 7, 1956:
Dinner with Boulez and Suvchinsky. . . .
May 22, 1958:
Ernst Krenek for dinner. . . .
December 7, 1958:
Dinner at Stephen Spender's, with Graham Greene. . . .
December 8, 1958:
Dinner at the T. S. Eliots. . . .
September 6, 1959:
London. Dinner with the Eliots at Claridges. . . .
October 16, 1961:
London. Dinner with the Eliots at the Savoy. . . .
June 30, 1966:
I spend the afternoon with Marianne Moore. . . .
December 13, 1966:
A visit from Yevgeny Yevtushenko. . . .
January 9, 1967:
Dinner with Marcel Duchamp. . . .
July 15, 1967:
Hollywood. Nureyev and Fonteyn come for aperitifs. . . .

And so on. The astonishing thing is not that Craft recorded his impressions of these people in his diary, or in some cases supplied footnotes to musical and literary history, but rather that the only events of his life that he has felt compelled to subject to public scrutiny are those in which he comes out looking like a big shot because he associates with big shots. There are months and even years from which there are no selections, for instance, 1954. What happened to Aldous, Wystan, Christopher, that crowd? Dylan was already dead, but where was Sacheverell? Did Osbert and Edith have the quinsy? Don't the Stravinskys know Lennie and Aaron? Doesn't Craft know anybody he went to school with or, for that matter, anybody under sixty?

If one thing is clear, it is that the real Robert Craft is not prepared to stand up at this time. Twenty-five years from now, when Craft himself is seventy and the other principals in this drama are dead, he may divulge: how it was he came to live with the Stravinskys and in what capacity; who pays the rent (does he live with them rent-free, do they pay him, does he pay them, does everybody's income go into a pot as at a monastery?); what he calls Stravinsky (I.S., Igor, Pop, Cher Maitre, Sir); whether he ever takes a vacation of several months away from them; when Stravinsky first began to listen sympathetically to the music of Schoenberg, Webern and Berg; what it was that, in recent years, made I.S. say unpleasant things about Webern in print; what is concealed in this extract from his 1967 diaries, Stravinsky bedded down in what Craft calls "Death Row" in a hospital:

> . . . Always a naturally affectionate man, as well as a deeply lonely man, feeling now pours out of him. And not a little of it pours into me, for we are very close now, as we were in our first years together. . . .

An invasion of privacy? Of course. But Craft's diaries are an invasion of everybody's privacy but his own, mostly of Stravinsky's. Presumably they will cover all of the composer's last years, and while it would be unreasonable to call journals so obviously written and edited for publication "candid," they are remarkably frank. Craft gives us Stravinsky drunk, Stravinsky constipated, Stravinsky babbling in delirium. There is so much of this that it is hard to see why Stravinsky would agree to its publication at this time. Describing Stravinsky's long and terrible illness in the spring and summer of 1967, Craft was clearly prepared for a great deathbed scene, and when the real one comes along, it can only be an anticlimax to the one in which the patient recovered.

The six books so far are invaluable for what they reveal, but they are even more important as a portrait and self-portrait of the Artist as an Old Man. If the authors need a title for their next book, they might try *Recriminations and Retractions.*

"WHAT EMERGES *from Songmy—just as in the liberal Left's response to the murders by Oswald, Sirhan and Ray—is an uncontrollable impulse not to blame the particular criminal, but rather to vilify America generally. The assassinations permitted the expression of a deep animosity against America, gave such feeling a seeming legitimacy. As an opportunity to indulge in this dark process, Songmy was seized upon almost gleefully.*"

For a free copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. Y, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

PEWTER
SOUP TUREEN
with TRAY ONLY $12.98

Magnificent classic 5½-quart Italian import keeps "zuppa," stew, baked beans, other foods steaming hot over 3 hours beautifully—on buffet, at table. Handsomely crafted from rich pewter-finished metal, this commanding beauty has insulated lining, tight-fitting cover. Matching 12½" tray adds to elegance, protects table and linens. Just as effective for keeping foods icy cold—a perfect ice bucket—a unique punch bowl or snack server! $12.98 plus 75c postage & handling.
Prompt shipment. Satisfaction guaranteed
Send check or money order—no C.O.D.'s
Send for FREE gourmet catalog

MAISON michel, ltd. Dept. NR-10
Michel Bldg., New Hyde Park, N.Y. 11040
GOOD NEWS FOR GOURMETS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Southern Review

WINTER ISSUE

FICTION

DAVID MADDEN, No Trace (Violence at graduation)

JOYCE CAROL OATES, Demons (A story of psychic possession)

Also: Evan S. Connell, Jr., Wright Morris and Robert Canzoneri

POETRY

KAY BOYLE, Testament for My Students, 1968-1969

JAMES SEAY, Turning Toward Song, Turtles from the Sea

WILLIAM HEYEN, In Memoriam: Theodore Roethke

Also: Richard Eberhart, George MacBeth, Robert Pinsky, Richard Schramm and others

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS

Vivas, Turnell, Frohock, Bergonzi, Pearce, Carruth and others

Subscriptions $4.00 a year (four issues) $5.00 overseas

ADDRESS:

The Southern Review

Drawer D. University Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803

Why Do You Read So Slowly?

A noted publisher in Chicago reports there is a simple technique of rapid reading which should enable you to increase your reading speed and yet retain much more. Most people do not realize how much they could increase their pleasure and ability in their personal and professional life by reading faster and more accurately.

According to this publisher, many people, regardless of their present reading skill, can use this simple technique to improve their reading skill to a remarkable degree. Whether reading literature, business material, technical matter, it becomes possible to read sentences at a glance and entire pages in seconds with this method.

To acquaint the readers of this publication with the easy-to-follow rules for developing rapid reading skill, the company has printed full details of its interesting self-training method in a new booklet, "How to Read Faster and Retain More" mailed free to anyone who requests it. No obligation. Send your name, address, and zip code to: Reading, 835 Diversey Parkway, Dept. 535-011, Chicago, Ill. 60614. A postcard will do.

David Madden: A Neglected Seer

Wright Morris: A Reader

(Harper; $12.95)

About once a year, one of our truest seers, disguised as a wise-fool uncle, shows up at the back door of the American house of fiction. On the plains; on the road, in the suburbs and in the territory ahead, Wright Morris has long scrutinized the American character. In 1935, having wandered Europe, he decided to see America next. Armed with a camera, he shot his way out of a young writer's frustrations, intent not upon exposé but revelation, not upon social relevance but upon *the thing itself*. Nostalgic, the "creative native" went home again to Nebraska, "the navel of the world," and out of a melancholy nausea took pictures and wrote novels. Both the novels and the photographs testify to the conception that "where men find the least, they see the most." *The Inhabitants* (1946) was a pioneer experiment in photo-text techniques that only Morris himself has surpassed; using some of those old photographs, he again articulated his vision in *God's Country and My People*, published last year.

You will find none of his photographs in *Wright Morris: A Reader*, but you will move through a gallery of images that reflect the author's years of sighting through a camera. For readers who have participated with Morris in the gradual fitting together of the fragments of his experience, this Reader provides a retrospective showing; but Granville Hicks' informative introduction and the selections themselves have been so conceived that strangers too will find the front door of Morris' house of fiction open. Most of the novels long out of print are represented here, including *My Uncle Dudley* (1942); *The World in the Attic* (1949); *Man and Boy* (1951); *The Deep Sleep* (1953); *Love Among the Cannibals* (1957); *Ceremony in Lone Tree* (1960); *Cause for Wonder* (1963); and *One Day* (1965). *The Works of Love* (1952) and *The Field of Vision* (1956) are reprinted in their entirety, so no reader is likely to complain of excessive fragmentation. This collection offers a field of vision in which we may see the rich relatedness of Morris' novels as a whole, a pattern similar to that in Faulkner's works. Characters based on key archetypes reappear, landscapes are compulsively revisited, artifacts are repeatedly picked up, episodes recur, themes and even techniques and structures reemerge.

The Reader is divided into four parts. "On the Plains" gives us three views of the barren regional scene and of two fossilized sons of pioneers. "On the Road" takes us on automobile treks from Los Angeles to Mississippi in the twenties; from Acapulco to Nebraska in the early sixties; from San Francisco to Mississippi again in the mid-sixties; and leaves us on the Hollywood beach "in the shifting sands of the present," where "the sex is alert, the mind is numb." "In the Suburbs" takes us to the haunted station wagon country of Philadelphia for two views of the archetypal American mother and of the great American Home (which turns out to be as barren as the Dust Bowl). Part Four offers selections from *The Territory Ahead* (1958), Morris' commentary on American masters of fiction, who, he argues, were trapped in the mythic past; the present remains undiscovered territory. In "Technique and Raw Material," he sheds light on his own fiction: "I seek to make my own what I have inherited as clichés. To make new we must reconstruct, as well as resurrect."

This is an excellent format for the presentation of Morris' humanistic vision, whether filtered through the impersonal eyes of old Tom Scanlon, through the imaginative vision of middle-aged Boyd, hero and failure, or through the antics of some of the "new mutants" of the immediate present.

In Morris' seriocomic vision, good and evil are resolved in a compassion that is not gray but radiant – for a moment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

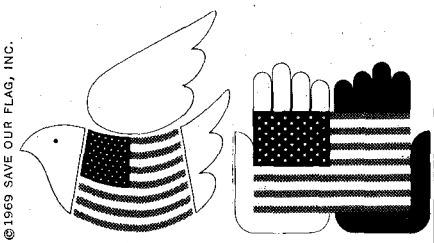
Life is a "loony bin, desperately sad, intolerably touching." Morris knows that it is still the life of *quiet* desperation that most of us live. Yipping hippies and members of the silent majority share the same field of vision, but accidents of time and space make each person see differently. Human relationships are like magnetic fields, but, as D. H. Lawrence said, "We cannot bear connection. That is our malady." Still, in each novel, characters who have been polarized by conflicting convictions and temperaments *do* connect, at least once, if only for a moment. The reader perceives other moments when connections were accidentally missed or perversely avoided.

In a literary quarterly a decade ago, I opened one of the first essays on Morris by lamenting the bewildering neglect of his novels. In his introduction to this Reader, Granville Hicks observes that while Morris has been praised by critics and honored with awards, "both he and the reading public are getting less than they deserve." Hicks wonders, with some exasperation, why *everybody* doesn't see Morris' work as "one of the most imposing edifices on the contemporary literary horizon." Monitoring the complaints of those who have tuned in to static instead of the most authentically American voice in fiction, one hears certain charges repeatedly. Morris isn't where the action is today. Although he prophetically reveals a new facet of the American character and scene, past and present, in each novel, he is not even tempted to march in the parade of controversial issues. All the fashionable subject matter – sex, war, bomb-fear, race, domestic violence – is explored in Morris, but deliberately subordinated.

To a casual reader, Morris' America may appear populated with caricatures, even grotesques, and his style may seem glib, quirky, excessively folksy. Yet many passages in his fiction explain his stylistic purpose: "When Uncle Dudley saw something he really liked he first always looked away," says the Kid. Morris keeps looking away, then coming back, transforming cliché expressions and trite situations, revealing his enduring love of American speech and his compassion for the foolish heroes and the redeemable nobodies who speak it. His humor is a disarming amalgam of paradoxes, ironies, puns, epigrams, pratfalls. Like Emerson, Thoreau, and Chesterton, he

How do you feel about those flags on cars?

If it angers you to see the super-patriots and love-it-or-leave-it guys taking over the American flag—show where you stand! Display these full-color "Peace" and "Equality" decals on car windows, bulletin boards.



©1969 SAVE OUR FLAG, INC.

PEACE decal Set of two . . . $1

EQUALITY decal Set of two . . . $1

Each decal over 4" square.
Seen on CBS News, NBC Today Show, in Life.

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE. OR MAIL THIS COUPON.

Save Our Flag, Inc. Dept. E
P.O. Box 79, Gedney Station, White Plains, N.Y. 10605
Please send me ..... sets Peace decals
..... sets Equality decals
Enclosed is $..... ($1 per set plus 15¢ per order for p&h.)
Name
(please print)
Address
City State & zip

■ **WE CAN HELP YOU WITH A SPANISH PROVERB**

A Spanish proverb states, *"For each man a good woman, a spirited horse, a fine knife."* While the first two are outside our competence, we are certain we can help with the third. ■ Our G.P.K. (Gentleman's Pocket Knife) is only ⅛" thin, but contains in its leatherette-sheathed body: knife, manicurer, screwdriver/bottle opener and scissors. All forged of the finest steel. ■ Once you own the G.P.K. we know you won't part with it and will carry it in tackle box, tweed suit or tux! Order yours now but, don't forget, the woman and the horse are up to you!

☐ Send me my G.P.K. I encl. $5.95 ($4.95 plus $1 post. & ins.) Return within 1 year if not delighted. (Calif. resid. add 5% tax.) TNR-0110

NAME_____
ADDRESS_____
_____ ZIP_____

haverhill's 584 Washington St., San Francisco, 94111

Ski

at St. Moritz, Davos, Garmisch, Megeve, Kitzbuhel, Gstaad, Arosa, Engelberg, Grindelwald, Klosters, Wengen, Innsbruck, Bad Gastein, Berchtesgaden, St. Anton, Lech, St. Christoph, Zell Am See, Zurs, Chourchevel, Chamonix, Avoriaz, Zermatt, and Val D'Isere.

Travel by jet on major scheduled airlines (Air India, Swissair, KLM, Sabena, Pan Am, and Lufthansa).

Round trip jet fare from New York is $268. You also prepay $70 toward your accommodations which cost from $5 to $20 a day.

Twelve 2-week trips will depart from New York in January through March. For information write to Travel Wholesalers International, 1707 L Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036. Or telephone (202) 296-9161.

Please mention you saw this ad in the January 10 issue of THE NEW REPUBLIC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Changing address?

In changing address send both old and new addresses to

SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
381 WEST CENTER STREET
MARION, OHIO 43302

Allow three weeks for change to become effective

THE UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
is selling books and 1970 Calendars as a fund raising project to help finance the strike against California grape growers.

1970 CALENDAR
with scenes from the farm workers' struggle for justice.
Photos by George Ballis ($1.00 each).

BASTA! ENOUGH!
THE TALE OF OUR STRUGGLE
With over 100 photographs by George Ballis, foremost photographer of the farm workers' movement, BASTA! captures the true spirit of the historic Delano strike. Introduction by Cesar Chavez. ($2.00 each).

El Malcriado, UFWOC
P.O. Box 130, Delano, CA 93215
Please send me ___ copies of BASTA! (@ $2.00 each) and ___ copies of the 1970 Farm Workers Calendar (@ $1.00 each). (Please include 25¢ for postage, handling)
NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

SUPPORT THE FARMWORKERS
Don't Buy Grapes!

worries ideas, ruminates upon them, without following a logical sequence; he makes his "raids on the inarticulate" with charged images.

To the criticism that nothing happens in his novels, Morris replies: "My problem as a writer is to dramatize my conception of experience, and it may often exclude the entire apparatus of dramatic action." His paradoxical themes explain his elliptical style and technique: Empty places are forever occupied; we live both in and out of this world; now you see it, now you don't; people always say more than they seem to be saying; life imitates literature; little rituals and ceremonies lend a momentary permanence to the transience of everyday life; artifacts are the imagination's touchstones, mystical connections with man, nature, and the past. "In the dry places, men begin to dream. Where the rivers run sand, there is something in man that begins to flow." To a mind at play in the fields of perception, *style* becomes *action*.

Some readers will disagree with Hicks' claim that Morris' ideas are not intrusive. But Morris insists that his talent "finds its realization in the creation of *characters*," and most of the time his depiction of them is inseparable from his notions and concepts about them. Some say that his themes are repetitive – arguing, contrary to Hicks, that Morris has failed to exorcise nostalgia. But he has always striven not so much for escape from the past as for control over it, and in this Reader we may follow stages by which he has achieved that control.

And so on. The reasons for neglect are many; even his admirers see some basis, in moderation, for complaint. They argue, however, that Morris' genius transcends its inherent faults.

The strenuous demands Morris makes of his readers are deliberate. A man of Joycean aesthetic and intellectual integrity, whose vision and art have matured over a quarter of a century in twenty books, he refuses to compromise. If neglect of Morris is one of the phenomena of our literature, what has encouraged the publication of this Reader? To provide both admirer and skeptic a fair basis, as the author turns sixty, for assessing Morris' achievement is reason enough.

Jonathan Yardley: Friend of Freedom

Bricks Without Straw by Albion W. Tourgee edited by Otto H. Olsen

(Louisiana State University Press; $10)

A few months after his death in 1905, Albion Winegar Tourgee was honored by W. E. B. DuBois' Niagara Movement as one of three notable "Friends of Freedom." The other two, Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, live on in American history, the subjects of continuing attention if not universal approbation. Yet Albion Tourgee has, to all intents and purposes, vanished, a victim of historical injustice.

By the reckoning of those few who have studied him in recent years, including Edmund Wilson and John Hope Franklin, Tourgee was an extraordinary man. His present editor, Dr. Olsen, has also written a biography of him, and claims that in the last two decades of the 19th century Tourgee was "the most militant, vocal, persistent, and widely heard advocate – black or white – of racial equality in the United States." Tourgee was a Union veteran who moved to Greensboro, North Carolina, at war's end. He came not for the victor's spoils but for the climate, which he hoped would be hos-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pitable to his uncertain health. It was not long before he was drawn into Republican politics and became a statewide leader. In 1868 he played a principal role in revising the state's legal code and drawing up a progressive state Constitution. That same year he was elected a Superior Court judge, in which capacity he won the markedly grudging respect of the local legal community. But by 1876 his "Radical" reputation had grown too provocative and Klan pressures on him and his family had become unbearable. He happily accepted a federal assignment in Raleigh, and three years later left the South for good.

To Dixie's regret he did not leave it out of mind. Barely had he moved back to the North than *A Fool's Errand*, attributed only to "One of the Fools," appeared in print. A loosely autobiographical novel based on his Greensboro years, it sold an astonishing 200,000 copies and provoked a lively debate as to its authorship – a question answered not long thereafter by Tourgee himself.

As literature, *A Fool's Errand* now seems painfully anachronistic – sentimental, didactic, contrived. But as a political document it is invaluable. The Reconstruction South it portrays is diametrically opposite to that popularized by such Southern apologists as Thomas Nelson Page and still widely accepted both within and outside the South. As Tourgee saw it, during Reconstruction it was not the carpetbaggers and their black allies who victimized a ravaged South, but quite the opposite: the South was implacable and ingenious in resisting their efforts, eventually inducing concessions from the North which made a mockery of Reconstruction's egalitarian rhetoric; the South had simply showed more determination and staying power in fighting the Negro's civil rights than the North had in upholding them. The novel, then, is a poignant confession of failure, and admission that Tourgee's had been "a fool's errand."

Bricks Without Straw, which followed it by a year, is less despairing though its portrait of the South is fundamentally the same. It develops the same theme of Reconstruction's failures, but it is more positively concerned with correcting them. Through the adventures of a Yankee schoolmarm, Goody-Two-Shoes personified, the novel preaches that education is the essential instrument for blacks to achieve racial equality. The themes are combined, with a certain quaint eloquence, in this passage:

> The Nation gave the jewel of liberty into the hands of [blacks], armed them with the weapons of self-government, and said: "Ye are many; protect what ye have received." Then it took away its hand, turned away its eyes, closed its ears to every cry of protest or agony, and said: "We will not aid you nor protect you. Though you are ignorant, from you we will demand the works of wisdom. Though you are weak, great things shall be required at your hands." Like the ancient taskmaster, the Nation said: *"There shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks."*

For all the passion he mustered in the black man's cause, Tourgee could be curiously condescending toward him. His black dialect out-Remuses Remus: "Wal, I 'clar, now, jes de quarest ting ob 'bout all dis matter o' freedom . . ." For all the dignity he attempted to instill in his black characters, he often merely created Steppin Fetchits: "Berry Lawson scrambled into the presence of the travelers, bowing and scraping, and chuckling with delight; a battered wool hat in one hand, a shocking assortment of dilapidated clothing upon his person, but his face glowing with honest good-nature, and his tones resonant of fun, as if care and he had always been strangers." Yassuh, boss!

If this is caricature, however, it is the product not of cynicism but of that blend of paternalism and naivete which has always been common among otherwise well-intentioned whites. In no way does it diminish the force of Tourgee's depictions of Klan violence, hostility between Southern Bourbons and carpetbaggers, and the steady removal from blacks of rights ostensibly insured them by the North. Tourgee is valuable, too, as an observer of the South. He understood more clearly than most in his time that the slaver was in an important way as much the victim as the slave: the defense of an indefensible system had forced him into an "irrepressible intolerance of the opinion of others," a narrowness and cruelty, that debased him and diminished his humanity. Tourgee was keenly aware that the South had developed a marked penchant for violence. He saw that the South was in for a long and painful time of trouble. He saw also, long before Faulkner came along to prove the point, the vast possibilities

Notes on Contributors

ROBERT EVETT, *former book editor of* The New Republic *and the* Atlantic, *is a composer.* LEONARD NATHAN *is in the Department of Rhetoric at Berkeley.* DAVID MADDEN *is writer-in-residence at Louisiana State University, but he is on leave this year with a Rockefeller Grant in fiction.* JONATHAN YARDLEY *is book editor and editorial writer for the Greensboro Daily News.* SCOTT BATES *is the editor of a new anthology of poems of war resistance, and a teacher at the University of the South.*

COMMENTARY
FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF OUR TIMES
FREE WITH NEW SUBSCRIPTION
The book-length January issue featuring
KENNEDYISM by Midge Decter
& CONFESSIONS OF A GREEN BERET by William Pfaff
Also in the January COMMENTARY
■ THE JEWISH VOTE IN NEW YORK
• Milton Himmelfarb
• Arthur M. Klebanoff
■ THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF HERBERT MARCUSE by George Kateb
■ ALLEN GINSBERG & THE 60's by Morris Dickstein
■ ASSESSING THE SIX-DAY WAR by Amos Perlmutter
COMMENTARY FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF OUR TIMES 165 E. 56th St., New York, N.Y.10022 NR-1
Please send me the current issue free and enter my subscription for:
☐ 6 months – $5.50 (single copy price $6)
☐ 12 months – $10.00 (single copy price $12)
☐ 36 months – $27.00 (single copy price $36)
☐ Please send bill
☐ Payment enclosed
(receive 2 additional issues)
Name
Address
City State Zip
☐ New ☐ Renew (when current subscription ends)
Please use separate sheet for gift subscriptions Outside U.S.A. – add $1.50 per subscription

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Teachers

If you are a teacher of government, literature, international relations, history or economics, we invite you to consider using *The New Republic* in your classroom. As in years past, we offer you the opportunity of ordering this magazine at a special classroom rate for bulk orders of 10 or more. Each student's copy costs only 15 cents weekly if 10 or more are mailed to a single address. *Free desk copies are included for each instructor.* Copies are mailed from Washington, D. C., on Fridays, three days before *The New Republic* appears on any newsstand, so that your students are assured of receiving the magazine while the news and reviews are fresh and exciting.

Advance payment is not necessary. You need only notify us how many copies and how many issues you wish. Your bill will be sent later. Mail your order without delay to:

CLASSROOM DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

the South offered the literary imagination.

The most important reason for reading Tourgee today, however, is that he anticipated the revisionist Reconstruction historians by well over half a century. His portrait of Reconstruction lends powerful support to their theories – which makes it baffling indeed that he should go utterly unmentioned in so central a work as Kenneth Stampp's *The Era of Reconstruction.* For myself, I am inclined to think the truth lies somewhere between the extremes of Thomas Nelson Page and Albion Winegar Tourgee, though I suspect the balance tips decisively in Tourgee's favor. In any event *Bricks Without Straw,* and *A Fool's Errand,* present a case that cannot be ignored.

The Classical Halcyon

A halcyon *(alcedo attis)* built his nest upon the sea
Near Sicily

Not on a rock *(petrus)*
Not on a tree
Not even on shifting sand
Not even on dry land
But on the Mediterranean Sea
Near Sicily
In the seven days preceding the winter solstice
Called "halcyon days"
According to Pliny
When the sea near Sicily is "calm and navigable"

It wasn't

It was rough and terrible
in the Straits of Messi-
Na between Scylla and Chary-
Bdis, but he
Was a classicist
He
Had read Pliny
He was a guinea
He was in a "halcyon daze"

His nest sank
like a septic tank
Or a garbage can lid or a cuspidor from the Leesburg First National Bank
In the Mississippi

Gently

Ironically

Classically

Tant pis

SCOTT BATES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personals

HELP BIAFRA. Subscribe to bi-weekly newsbulletin and become a member for $10.00. Send check, your name, address to: A.C.T. Keep Biafra Alive, 1234 Broadway, New York, New York 10001.

LEGAL, PLEASANT TURN-ON, South American herb. Brew like tea. Great with lovemaking. Hurry before legislation turns us off. Quarter pound $7.50. Kilos $30.00. M.O. or cash. Omnibus Ltd., P.O. Box 544, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

PUT OUT WITH PUT OFFS AND PUT ONS? Join mutual souls, Sunday nine o'clock a.m., Eucharist experimental service. Memorial Episcopal Church, Lafayette at Bolton Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY CAMPUS: unique lecture notes. Hundreds of courses, taken directly in class by professionals from world-famous teachers, $1-$4. Send for free *new* catalog. Fybate Lecture Notes, Dept. M, 2440 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, California 94704.

IDEAS FOR LOVERS and bankers and poets and pants pressers. Book entitled STIMULI uses unusual classified ad collection to speed and aid the forming of your ideas—designed to delight, intrigue, inspire. $1.00., Box 1242, Covina, California 91722.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, PLEASE COME HOME. An Open Letter. Send one dollar cash or money-order to M. Howard, Dept. NR, 442 Central Building, 810 Third Avenue, Seattle, Washington 98104.

SINGLE?—Select from PHOTOS of 4-20 ideal dates! Advanced matching systems! All Ages. $15. Information and free questionnaire: Yale Photo-Dating® Service, Inc., P.O. Box 509, Dept. K, New York, New York 10028.

THE GREAT SILENT MAJORITY, an organization to promote semantic confusion in the realm of politics, is accepting members. Send 50c for membership card to Great Silent Majority, Box 165, Schenectady, New York 12301.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. For FREE analytical questionnaire write giving age. OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS. The right of each adult to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law. The word human means exactly air breathing Homo sapiens. Write: AAAL, P.O.B 36122, Los Angeles, California 90036.

AMERICA, SAVE IT OR SCREW IT! Multi-purpose bumperstrip. 4/$1.00. Age of Aquarius, Box 1144-N, Wilmington, Delaware 19899.

12 EXPERIENCED YOUNG EDUCATORS wish to start a small sane high school. Need community or patron desiring same. Anywhere in U.S.A. or Canada. Box 4295, *New Republic*.

HOW MANY VIETNAMESE FOUGHT IN OUR CIVIL WAR? Bumpersticker. 5/$1.00. Stamps, 66/$1.00. International McClelland, 407 North Maple Drive, Beverly Hills 90210.

"STOP THE WAR NOW" Bumperstickers 25c each. 5/$1.00; "I AM AN EFFETE SNOB FOR PEACE" Button $1.00 each, 6/$5.00. *New Party of Florida*, 141 N.E. 3rd Avenue, Miami, Florida 33132.

CROSS COUNTRY skis, snowshoes: Lightweight equipment for backpacking, mountaineering, camping, canoeing. Free catalog. Moor & Mountain, Dept. 44, Main Street, Concord, Massachusetts 01742.

"JOY TO THEE AND ME — CONFUSION To Our Enemies." Plaque, $1.50; deluxe, $2.50. IDEA PLAQUES, Box 178-N, New York 10580.

THE EXPANDED FAMILY is for families. Perhaps for yours. To join write P.O. Box 415, New York City 10032 (212) 923-8640.

MORATORIUM SHIRT: Blue Hand Hippie "V" Signal. Harvard Strike Shirt: Red Fist, Black Letters. Peace Shirt: Blue Peace Symbol. "T" Shirt, $2.50 . . . Sweatshirt, $3.50. *Sizes:* Sm—34/36, Med—38/40, Lg—42/44, XL—46. Prepaid. Kay-4, Box 6-NR, Glencoe, Illinois 60022.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom-made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132. Phone (314) 423-5495.

DECORATIVE, INFORMATIVE "1970 World Holiday Calendar." $3.00. The Friendly World, GPO 1004, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202. Dept NR.

UP AGAINST THE WALL BUTTONMAKER! 10% discount to the Movement. All custom-made. Send $1.00 (refundable) for price list. LARRY FOX, Box 581-N, Hempstead, New York. (516) 825-7706.

FOOT FETISH CLUB. Sexual stimulation by beautiful feet. Send $2.00 particulars, membership. Naked Foot charm. LOTUS, Box 497, Times Square Station, N.Y.C.

SPONSOR a needy American Indian child enabling him to continue his schooling. Correspondence, visits, reports. $12.50 monthly. Brochure. *Future for Children*, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D.C. 20016.

POSTERS (over 200, many anti-war), BUTTONS (over 200), BUMPERSTICKERS, PEACE JEWELRY & EARRINGS. Wholesale & Retail. Free Catalogue. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 566N, Ojai, California 93023.

VIETNAM—LOVE IT or LEAVE IT! Bumperstickers, 5/$1.00. Stamps, 66/$1.00. International McClelland, 407 North Maple Drive, Beverly Hills 90210.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 2½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will forms and attorney's information book. $1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1967 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

ECCLESINE'S ADMONITION: "ESCHEW OBFUSCATION" plaque 8⅛" x 4" $1.50. Deluxe Edition, $2.50, grandiose, $5.00. Bumperstrip, 2/$1.00, 6/$2.50. Wry Idea Company, Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

THE WIDER QUAKER FELLOWSHIP tries to reach out to individuals who are drawn to, but do not wish to join, the Religious Society of Friends. Over three thousand persons of various races and creeds in sixty-one countries are members. We invite correspondence with other such seekers. 152A N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

ZODIAC SEX POSITION POSTER (banned in S.F.) only $2.50. State you are over 21. A Big-Little Store, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities, all occupations, sixty countries. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Only $2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

LET HUMANISM ease the pain of the gap between you and your environment. For free information about this constructive alternative to traditional religion and philosophy, write the *American Humanist Association*, Dept. NR-3, 125 El Camino del Mar, San Francisco, California 94121.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

LISPING BUMPERSTRIP: "Think Thnow!" 2/$1; 6/$2.50. Wry Idea, Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD, most underprivileged of all, has a special claim upon our compassion and support. A sponsorship, $12.50 monthly, helps him to continue his schooling and can make you his friend. Futures For Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D. C. 20016.

BOOK OF 500 *PEACE NOW* STAMPS in full color showing Peace Symbol. Only $1.25. *American Stamp Company, Box 867, Dept. NC-5*, San Francisco, California 94101.

'McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT' bumperstickers. 10/$1. McGovern bumperstickers, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

ONE BILLION PROTEIN-HUNGRY ARE ENOUGH. Support free birth control everywhere. Grand Central Station 4069, NYC 10017.

'JUSTICE' car decal with ACLU liberty torch. Send $1.00 to Connecticut Civil Liberties Union, 721 Main Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06103.

PEACE NOW — Official March on Washington Materials—bumperstickers and buttons. 4 for $1.00; 50 for $10. People Now, 901 Kentucky, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

LIKE COLORFUL STATIONERY? SEND FOR free idea-packed sample assortment—new "hot" colors —"cool" pastels. Imprinted with name and address. 25c postage-handling appreciated. Jacques Company, Room 5-FN, 310 East 25th Street, New York, New York 10010.

EFFICIENCY DEFICIENCY? Enlightening test (perception, retention, communication)—free. Send stamped envelope. NR, Box 241, Laguna Beach, California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Literature

A 7 YEAR COLLECTION OF BACK ISSUE New York Times and Washington Post book review sections available. Also New York Times magazine sections. Best offer. Contact: Harold Clayton, 1843 S Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

WORLD PEACE requires ESPERANTO text, record loaned FREE. Esperanto Library, DEPTNR, Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.

I CHING. Hardbound edition of The Book of Changes and old Chinese bronze coins. Ten dollars. Kamala Book Store, P.O. Box 15061, San Francisco 94115.

MY NAME IS RICHARD. I write BOOKS—publish them my self and sell them for $1. Want one? Send your $1 to Richard Liebow, 948 Market, San Francisco 94102.

800,000 AMERICANS lack right to elect own city government. Washington, D.C. needs national support to free it from colonial rule. Learn the facts about the nation's lost colony in DC Gazette, twice monthly. Six month trial: $1. 109 8th Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

DO YOU TEACH? We suggest you enliven your class by using The New Republic. On bulk orders of ten copies or more to a single address, the cost per copy is only 15c. Write to the Classroom Dept., New Republic, 1244 19th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

ABORTION LAW ABOLITIONIST, $4.00/year, POB 36122, Los Angeles 90036, published quarterly, succinctly summarizes—in speaker's notes—everything in print on abortion.

THE MAJORITY REPORT: Social and political actions building for a majority on the Democratic Left. Submit materials. Monthly free classified advertisements to subscribers. $3.00 yearly. 1935 North Fremont, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

"LIVING IN AUSTRALIA." New-idea publication projects realistic, illustrated facts as no other reference or guide can, about jobs, careers, business & real estate opportunities, living costs, prices—because it uses typical reprinted Australian newspaper ads. Fascinating! Great for getting feel of boom in snowless, friendly-to-Americans, go-ahead young democracy which shares our heritage of English language and law, free enterprise, safe investment (and no cap. gains tax). Includes separate form to request free booklets, visa information, assisted fare for U.S. settlers. Send $3.00 to LIVING IN AUSTRALIA, Dept. NRB, 530 East 72nd, NYC 10021.

STIMULI—great gift for fey friends, creative cronies, languid lovers—an idea-generating book based on wide ranging collection of unusual classified ads. Only $1.00. Box 1242, Covina, California 91722.

AN AMAZING JOURNEY into the world of books. Thousands of out-of-print and forgotten works now beautifully reprinted and available. Send for free 140-page catalogue. Johnson Reprint Corporation, New Republic Box #4390.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION for students, teachers and armed forces personnel to The New Republic Magazine. $6.00 for one year (a Saving of $4.00) or $4.00 for eight months. Mail payment and this ad to The New Republic Subscription Department/381 West Center Street/Marion, Ohio 43302.

YINGLISH (Yiddish Glossary). 1400 entries. Fun gift. $1.50. Basani, 852 Garfield, South Pasadena, California 91030.

HALDEMAN — JULIUS BLUE BOOKS — 20c and 50c — All Subjects. Lists: 10c. Larson-NR, #106, 6364 Yucca, Hollywood 90028.

YOU THINK MISSISSIPPI SOULS HAVE IT BAD . . . learn about Texas 'chicanos.' Mexican-Americans, 129 Cincinnati, San Antonio, Texas 78201, $1.00.

DIALOGUES ON ETERNAL VALUES, by Charles Haas. $5.00. For Adults with GOOD taste. A. H. Fenelon, 1901 Euclid, San Marino, California 91108.

GUIDE TO THE AMERICAN LEFT. Directory and Bibliography. 2,000 listings. Current. Comprehensive. $3.00. Directory, Box 1832, Kansas City, Missouri 64141.

NEW UNABRIDGED DICTIONARY at great saving. Clark Book Specialties, Green Hills Box 6838, Nashville, Tennessee 37215.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 11001.

PROFESSIONAL PUBLISHED WRITER, 28 years proved success, will write, rewrite, edit. Any subject, any media. Confidential. Box 337R, Atlantic Beach, New York 11509.

WRITERS — "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Schools

EXPERT INSTRUCTION IN YOGA. G. Stephen, 2440 16th Street, N.W. #101, Washington, D.C. 20009, 462-0546.

WORLD FUTURE SOCIETY, publisher of THE FUTURIST, is nonprofit, nonpartisan association devoted to serious study of possible future developments. For information, write: World Future Society, Box 19285-NR, Washington, D.C. 20036.

FINISHING SCHOOLING IN EUROPE—Applications being considered for 1970 February and October admissions. Shapley Scuola di Firenze welcomes particularly highschool seniors and postgraduates—alert, aware, artistic. Co-educational. American diploma, SAT, GCE, college-level academics, studio arts. Beautiful Italian villa overlooking Florence. Apply: Admissions SHAPLEY INTERNATIONAL via Ballodole 13, Firenze 50139 (Italy).

QUAKER STUDY CENTER—Suburban Philadelphia. Workshop in social change and nonviolence. Seminars on Quakerism, Buber, creative writing, drama, crafts, and religious community. Write D. R. Fradley, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania 19086.

LIVE AT OXFORD. Study medieval astronomy, Greek art, the American Revolution, British music, poetry, philosophy, history, cities. Tutorials with Oxford faculty/University of California Extension credit. Classes begin June 29th, July 15th, 23rd, and 29th, 1970. Write: Dept. R, Oxford/Berkeley Program, UC Extension, Berkeley, California 94720.

Employment Wanted

POET-IN-RESIDENCE. Widely published. Editor-publisher-graphic arts background, plus teaching experience. M.A. (with honor). Available September 1970. New Republic, Box No. 4355.

INDUSTRIAL COORDINATOR/SALES MANAGER Washington, D.C./U.S. Government Liaison 5 years experience in contacting various government agencies. GSA Contract negotiation experience. Educational media product area; B.A. in Liberal Arts. The New Republic, Box #4340.

EXPERIENCED TYPIST, stenographer, some editing, at home. D.C. area resident. New Republic, Box #4395.

ADMINISTRATIVE, RESEARCH, EDITORIAL, etc. Recent M.S. London School of Economics, International Relations and Political Science. Attractive, personable. Phone 516—868-8715 or write Box 4315, New Republic.

WRITING, EDITING, RESEARCH by expert published writer, Who's Who biographee. New Republic Box 4370.

Employment Opportunities

PROSPECTIVE SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS for M.A.'s, M.A.T.'S, E.D.M.'s, or above. Revolutionary approach to job problem. Nationwide directories of positions in public and independent secondary education. Inexpensive. Deadline Jan. 15th. Application, write: Intercept, Box 317, Harvard Square P.O., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants YOU—Application forms and new 1970 Australian Handbook describing Government assisted passage, family and housing allowances, jobs, business, ranching, teaching, hunting, fishing, etc. $1.00. Buckeye, Box 1032HN, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

PHYSICIANS, NURSE-WIVES, Nurses, Medical Technicians, Record Librarians, and Social Workers are *Urgently* needed for the New Family Nurse Practitioner Project in Eastern Kentucky. Write: Frontier Nursing Service, Wendover, Kentucky 41773.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR—3 County Urban-Rural Comunity Action Program in Central Pennsylvania. 1 million dollar plus budget, 70 employees, 6 delegate agencies. Strong Administrative experience necessary, $13,000-$15,000 plus fringe benefits. Send resume to Board President, Commission on Economic Opportunity, 477 North Front Street, Steelton, Pennsylvania 71113.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government Assisted Passage. 50,000 Jobs. 1970 Government Information and Forms $1.00. Special reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Housing, Education, Ranching, Farming, Teaching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach, California 90803.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CREATIVE MANPOWER TYPES—Capable of working with a team of leaders in the field of human resources development; professionals with at least 5-10 years experience who are:

—knowledgeable in program design in the fields of training, upgrading, and job restructuring; in relating to all levels of an organization and in actually implementing and evaluating programs.

—experienced in designing and implementing field-oriented research programs in the area of human resources.

—skilled in model building and training simulation experiences.

Salary negotiable, depending on relevant experience. In addition to experience, graduate degrees are desirable, business background is essential. Send resume and salary requirements to Box 4365, New Republic.

TEACHERS WANTED, Innovative, socially aware, grades K-8, also specialties. New York suburb, 60 minutes from N.Y.C. Salary range for 69-70 is $6,900 to $14,000+. Contact Mr. N. Karamessinis, Asst. Supt. for Instr., Box 241, Rockaway, N.J. (201-361-2900).

WRITE FOR TELEVISION. Will establish. "Writter," 22841 Calabash, Woodland Hills, California 91364.

Vacations/Travel

FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND GRADUATES. Exceptional travel plans in Western Europe — Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia — Israel — Russia. Get off the beaten track and become involved in European life. Speak French in France or Spanish in Spain all summer. Or stay in a Soviet youth center; sail with Breton fishermen; climb glacier-covered Alps; ski in August at Mont Blanc; make bicycle trip in Denmark; hike with Czech students; work in Israeli kibbutz; live with European family. Music festivals, theaters. 19th year. Write: George N. Shumlin, Putney Student Travel, Putney, Vermont 05346.

"I TOOK THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED" . . . Exploring Anthropology in Mexico; Theatre in London . . . Dance, Tennis, Art, Ceramics, Archaeology, Languages, Homestays . . . Baltic Cruise. YOUTH TRAVELS TO MEXICO/EUROPE, 47-R Stephanmarc, New Hyde Park, New York 11040.

TRAVEL BARGAINS. Save $250 plus on trip abroad. Free literature. Traveletter, Box T-19, Corona del Mar, California 92625.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND. Seminars on Modern Britain, August 1st-21st, $155; Modern English Literature and Drama, August 21st-September 5th, $120. Fees include three morning lectures and discussions, excursions, parties and dances, and accommodation. Brochure by airmail from Christopher Thompson, M.A., King's College School, Cambridge, England.

EUROPE—AN UNREGIMENTED TOUR! Discover this bargain. TOURS, 225-N. Sequoia, Pasadena, California.

SEE EXPO '70 & THE OFF-BEAT WORLD with David, The Travel Expert, 608 Fifth Avenue, Suite 500, New York City (265-5740).

MAYA, ZAPOTEC CIVILIZATIONS. Yucatan to Zihuatanejo. Summer in non-tourist Mexico with anthropologist. High School students, 6th year. Box 4486, Stockton, California 95204.

EUROPE THIS SUMMER? Ages 22-30. Looking for a low-cost coed trip combining a magnificent twelve country itinerary with loads of free time, theatre tickets, fine hotels, and meals? Eight weeks $1,595; six weeks $1,395 WITH NO EXTRAS. Dr. S. N. Lutnick, 32 Hicks Avenue, Syosset, N.Y. 11791. 516—WA 1-7898.

STUDENT EXPEDITIONS—Summer 1970. Safari in Africa. Hunt-Ride in Ireland Canoe the Danube or Explore the Orient. Small, select groups, professional leaders. Robinson Crusoe Abroad, Box 23, 360 West 22nd Street, NYC 10011. (212-873-1260).

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21, JDL, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

Cookery

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 71, 75 Wall Street, NYC 10005.

HOMEMADE WINE—Instructions, recipes. $1.00. P.O. Box 19103, Pensacola, Florida 32501.

Arts and Crafts

ORIGINAL SAND-SCULPTURE PAINTINGS. A delightful experience in Color and Texture. Use Singly or Grouped. Exciting as Gifts. 9½" x 9½". $10. Art Fair, 3480 Dixiana Drive, Lexington, Kentucky 40502.

DALI, MIRO, CHAGALL: Lithographs, etchings. Illustrated brochure, 50c. Atlas Art, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

IMPORTED FROM ENGLAND! Official Royal Shakespeare Company Theatre posters. Illustrated brochure 25c, applied to first order. Phoenix International, P.O. Box 974N, Brooklyn, New York 11202.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25c. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

CARTOONS WANTED: Original drawings of Masses, New Masses, Liberator artists. Will purchase single drawings or complete collections. Send details to: Box #182, Durham, Pennsylvania 18039.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau. Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from $15. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

OFFICIAL GUIDE TO ANTIQUES. Know price of antiques: what price to buy, sell. Over 3,000 listings. Ideal for shopper, antique hunter. $5.38 postpaid. S. M. Swanson, 341 North Menard Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60644.

GET STONED. Hand-painted stones depicting any sign of the ZODIAC (please specify desired sign). Also hand-painted stones of LOVING FACES. Only $5, postpaid. Guaranteed to delight. Write: Suzen, 1264 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., #3, Washington, D.C. 20036.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fiber handbags—leather-trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear. (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R, Cuenca, Ecuador.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

Music

COMPOSER-IN-RESIDENCE AT THE CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART, Washington, D.C., needs the use of two professional tape recorders (Ampex or Sculley; 4-channel, 7½ & 15 IPS) and related equipment for the making of free improvisational compositions. Contact: H. Clayton, 1843 S St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

FREE 40 PAGE CATALOG offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance, Baroque and Classical music. Some records priced as low as $1.00! All late recordings in stereo only. MHS RECORDS, Box 932 NR, New York, New York 10923.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

FALL IN LOVE with a Neupert Harpsichord. Magnamusic Distributors, Inc., Sharon, Connecticut 06069.

MUST PART WITH HARPSICHORD. Sabathil cantabile model. Box 90NR, Utica, Montana 59452.

DULCIMER PSALTERIES and other easily made and played instruments. Kits $15.55 up, instruments $38.50 up. Instruction record and book. HERE, Inc., N. Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 45c
Per word 6 times in one contract year ...40c
Per word 12 times in one contract year...37c
Per word 24 times in one contract year...33c
Per word 48 times in one contract year...30c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

waxing verbal

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

an unprecedented selection of spoken records now available to New Republic readers.

JA 8'70

8. EDWARD R. MURROW: "I CAN HEAR IT NOW"
(Pre-war broadcasts) Each
A) 1919-1932; B) 1933-1945; 5.95
C) 1945-1949 3 LPs. Set 11.90

9. KENNEDY WIT—
From speeches, press conferences, etc. 5.98

11. REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.—
In Search of Freedom 4.98

12. SOUND OF DISSENT—
Protest Movements of the '60's 4.98

47. SAINT JOAN (Shaw)—
McKenna, Pleasence, Aylmer, etc.
4 LPs. 24.80

56. BADMEN
Spoken Voices of the West. 2 LP's. 9.70

57. BEHIND THE LINES IN VIETNAM—
Harrison Salisbury 4.95

61. BERTOLT BRECHT 5.95

70. ABBA EBAN—
Horizons of Peace 4.95

73. LENNY BRUCE—
Berkeley Concert—Uncut 6.95

89. KENNEDY SELF PORTRAIT
2 LP's. 11.90

101. The Bestiary of FLANDERS & SWANN 5.95

116. UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE 5.95

121. WAR OF THE WORLDS—
Orson Welles' famous radio broadcast of 1939 5.95

126. WNEW'S STORY OF SELMA, ALABAMA 5.95

159. ORIGINAL BROADWAY CAST, DYLAN—
with Alec Guinness 11.59

170. HAND IS ON THE GATE—
Original Cast—Poetry and songs of the Negro 5.79

228. OLD GLORY—
Benito Cereno (R. Lowell) 2 LP's. 9.59

242. PETER SCHICKELE—
Hysteric Return 5.95

243. SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL
(Sheridan)—Gielgud, Richardson, etc.
3 LP's. 7.77

272. REINER & BROOKS—
2,000 Years 5.95

274. TOM LEHRER, SONGS
Dixie, Dope, Harvard, Be Prepared, and others 4.95

295. STAN FREBERG'S
United States of America 5.95

301. BAUDELAIRE—
Fleurs du Mal (F) Eve Le Gallienne, Louis Jourdan 5.95

303. SAMUEL BECKETT—
Cusack 5.95

327. WILLIAM BLAKE—
Richardson 5.95

334. ROBERT BROWNING—
James Mason 5.95

344. TRUMAN CAPOTE—
Thanksgiving Visitor read by Capote 4.95

357. CHRISTIAN POETRY & PROSE—
A. Guinness 5.95

373. NOEL COWARD—
Duologues—Coward & M. Leighton 5.95

377. E. E. CUMMINGS—
Read by the Poet 5.95

390. EMILY DICKINSON—
Self Portrait—J. Harris. 2 LP's. 11.90

391. JAMES DICKEY—
Reads his Poetry 5.95

395. AN EVENING WITH MIKE NICHOLS & ELAINE MAY 4.95

404. LAWRENCE DURRELL—
Love Poems, read by the author 5.95

410. EDUCATION & RETURN OF H*Y*M*A*N* K*A*P*L*A*N*—
Rosten 5.95

412. T. S. ELIOT—
Reading 5.95

474. GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS—
Poetry/C. Cusack 5.95

477. A. E. HOUSMAN—
Shropshire Lad, read by James Mason 5.95

519. CHARLES LAUGHTON—
Program of Readings 9.90

535. LAMENT ON DEATH OF BULLFIGHTER (Sp)
Read by G. Montero 4.95

537. ROBERT LOWELL—
Reads Own Works 5.95

558. MARSHALL McLUHAN—
Medium is the Massage 4.95

603. KENNETH PATCHEN—
Jazz & Poetry in Canada 5.95

633. THEODORE ROETHKE—
Words For the Wind—Roethke 5.95

647. CARL SANDBURG—
Fog—etc.—Read by the Author 5.95

666. TOM LEHRER
Poisoning the Pigeons, Masochism, Oedipus, The Bomb, and others 4.95

749. WM. BUTLER YEATS—
McKenna, Cusack 5.95

833. BECKET—
Dialogue Highlights/Burton, O'Toole 5.95

843. SHAKESPEARE; SOULE OF AN AGE—
M. Redgrave, cast—w/Booklet 6.95

876. PETER USTINOV—
Grand Prix of Gibraltar—Spoof on sports car racing 5.95

880. LORD BUCKLEY—
Best 4.95

WAXING VERBAL (New Republic)
1244 - 19th Street, N.W., Dept. WV
Washington, D. C. 20036 TNR-0110

Please send the records whose numbers I have circled below.

8 9 11 12 47 56 57 61 70 73 89
101 116 121 126 159 170 228 242 243 272 274
295 301 303 327 334 344 357 373 377 390 391
395 404 410 412 474 477 519 535 537 558 603
633 647 666 749 833 843 876 880

I enclose $_____ plus 25c postage and handling.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____

Zip Code_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED